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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

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In
Commemoration
of the peaceful settlement of
Pennsylvania
& of the friendly welcome with which the First settlers
were received by
The Native Indians.)

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

BY THOMAS CLARKSON, M. A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

CHAPTER I.

A. 1688—*introduces Gilbert Latey to the King—becomes very unpopular—reputed causes of it—beautiful letter written to him by Mr. Popple on this account—his answer to the same—is arrested (King William having come to the throne) and brought before the Lords of Council—and examined—and made to give bail for his appearance—affairs of Pennsylvania.*

WILLIAM PENN staid in England only for the purpose of seeing religious liberty established by a law of the land. Of course he was a frequent attendant at Whitehall. Going there one day in company with George Whitehead, they met Gilbert Latey, an experienced minister of the Society. They asked him, if he would go with them and wait upon the King. "Gilbert paused for awhile, and as he thus stood silent, it opened in his heart what he

should say to the King; whereupon he told the Friends he was ready to go with them; and accordingly they went, and had admittance into the King's presence, there being only one other person present besides the King and his Friends. George Whitehead and William Penn having spoken what they had to say, the King was pleased to ask Gilbert, whether he had not something to say; upon which he in a great deal of humility spake in the manner following: 'The mercy, favour, and kindness, which the King hath extended to us as a people in the time of our exercise and sore distress, we humbly acknowledge; and I truly desire that God may show him mercy and favour in the time of *his trouble and sore distress*.' To which the King replied, I thank you; and so at that time they parted. But what was then spoken by Gilbert lived with the King; who, some time after, when he was in Ireland, desired a Friend to remember him to Gilbert. Tell him, said the King, the words he spake to me I shall never forget, adding that one part of them had come true (*the Revolution and sore distress thereby*), and that he prayed to God that the other might come to pass. Upon this Gilbert caused it to be signified to him, that the second part of what he had said was also in a great measure come to pass, for that the Lord had given him his life" (*alluding to the battle of the Boyne*). I mention this as a curious anecdote of the constitution of the King's mind, he having viewed the words spoken by Gilbert Latey in a prophetic light.

In the month of April the King renewed his Declaration for liberty of conscience, with this addition, that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none into public employments but such as would concur with him in maintaining it. He also promised that he would hold a Parliament in the November following. This was what William Penn desired. He wished the King to continue firm to his purpose; but he knew that neither tests nor penalties could be legally removed without the consent of Parliament. He rejoiced therefore that the Parliament were to be consulted on the measure; for he indulged a hope, that the substance of the Royal Declaration would be confirmed by both Houses, and thus pass into a law of the land.

At the time when this Declaration was renewed, an Order of Council came out, that it should be read in the churches within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kingdom. Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other Bishops, namely, St. Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol, presented a petition to the King in behalf of themselves and several other Bishops, and a great body of the Clergy; in which they laid before him the reasons why they had opposed the reading of the Declaration in the churches, as the Order in Council had prescribed. They intended, they said, no disrespect to His Majesty, nor did they breathe any spirit of hostility towards the Dissenters; but the Declaration being founded on a dispensing power, which had been declared illegal no less than

three times in eight years, they could not become parties to it by giving it the extraordinary publicity required. The King having heard the petition, of which this was the substance, took time to deliberate upon it; after which the seven Bishops were sent to the Tower. In process of time they were brought to trial, and they were acquitted among the plaudits of the nation.

After this event William Penn became more unpopular than ever. It had transpired, probably by means of Burnet, that he had been employed by the King on the embassy to the Hague to obtain the Prince of Orange's consent, not only to a Toleration, but to the removal of Tests. It had been suspected that he was the mover of the Royal Proclamation in 1686, and of the Declaration in 1687. It had become known, though he had concealed his name, that he was the author of "Good Advice to the Church of England, and Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters." It was therefore now taken for granted, that he had a hand in the imprisonment of the Bishops, though he had never any concern, on any occasion, in the recommendation of force. The consequence was, that he became very odious to the Church. The Dissenters too, whose very cause he had been pleading, turned against him. Considering his intimacy with James the Second, they judged him to be a creature of the same stamp, and to have the like projects and pursuits. Now it happened that the King had made this year a more open acknowledgment of Popery

than ever. He had permitted the Jesuits to erect a College in the Savoy in London, and suffered the Friars to go publicly in the dress of their monastical orders; which was a strange sight to Protestants. He had permitted also the Pope's Nuncio D'Ada to make his public entry into Windsor in great state. He was therefore most openly a Catholic. Hence they considered William Penn to be of the same religious persuasion. But they carried the matter still further; for, believing that the King, when he wished to establish a Toleration and to abolish Tests, had no other motive than that of protecting the Roman Catholic religion, and thus giving it an opportunity to flourish, they attached to William Penn the same motive in his furtherance and defence of the measure. From this time the names of *Papist* and *Jesuit* were revived with double fury. It was added, that he was disaffected to the free part of the Constitution, and a friend to arbitrary power. The clamour, indeed, was so great against him, being spread both by Dissenters and the Church, that several, who had not the courage to go against the spirit of the times, avoided his acquaintance. Others, who were of a firmer texture, and who valued him from what they knew of his worth and character, did not follow the stream; but, either to exculpate themselves for not doing so, or to try if possible to recover his expiring reputation, required of him, as Dr. Tillotson had done before, a voucher from his own hand, that there was no ground for those epithets which the

public had fixed upon him. Among these was Mr. Popple*, who was the intimate friend both of him and of John Locke. His letter to this purpose was friendly, modest, and respectful, yet firm and manly. It discovered great good sense, and a liberal and highly cultivated mind. As a composition it was masterly, with respect to words, sentences, and arguments, as will be seen from the following copy of its contents.

"To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Esq. Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania.

"HONOURED SIR,

"Though the friendship with which you are pleased to honour me doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any subject, yet I choose rather at this time to offer unto you in writing some reflections which have occurred to my thoughts in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth primarily and directly respect yourself, and your own private concernments; but it also consequently and effectually regards the King, his Government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole Nation. I entreat you therefore to bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner to give somewhat more weight unto my words than would be in a transient discourse, and leave them with you as a subject that requires your retired consideration.

* This gentleman was Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations.

"You are not ignorant that the part you have been supposed to have had of late years in public affairs, though without either the title, or honour, or profit, of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavours to introduce among us a general and inviolable liberty of conscience in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and in the end have raised against you a multitude of enemies, who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations as I am sure you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it. The consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders; for, however glorious it is and reasonable for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet even that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess. To be steady and immoveable in the prosecution of wise and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent means, is indeed a duty that admits of no exception: but nevertheless it ought not to hinder that, at the same time, there be also a due care taken of preserving a fair reputation. 'A good name,' says the Wise Man, 'is better than precious ointment.' It is a perfume that recommends the person whom it accompanies, that procures him every where an easy acceptance, and that facilitates

the success of all his enterprizes: and for that reason, though there were no other, I entreat you, observe, that the care of a man's reputation is an essential part of that very same duty that engages him in the pursuit of any worthy design.

" But I must not entertain you with a declamation upon this general theme. My business is to represent to you more particularly those very imputations which are cast upon yourself, together with some of their evident consequences; that, if possible, I may thereby move you to labour after a remedy. The source of all arises from the ordinary access you have unto the King, the credit you are supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy that some people have conceived of his intentions in reference to religion. Their jealousy is, that his aim has been to settle Popery in this nation, not only in a fair and secure liberty, but even in a predominating superiority over all other professions: and from hence the inference follows, that whosoever has any part in the councils of this reign must needs be popishly affected; but that to have so great a part in them as you are said to have had, can happen to none but an absolute Papist. That is the direct charge: but that is not enough; your post is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form, and therefore you must be a Jesuit: nay, to confirm that suggestion, it must be accompanied with all the circumstances that may best give it an air of probability; as, that you have been bred at St. Omer's in the Jesuits' college; that you have taken orders at

Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated as a Priest in the celebration of the Mass at Whitehall, St. James's, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss either in Church or State, though never so contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it; and, if other proofs fail, the Scripture itself must be brought in to confirm, 'That whosoever offends in one point (in a point especially so essential as that of our too much affected uniformity) is guilty of the breach of all our laws.' Thus the charge of Popery draws after it a tail like the *et cætera* oath, and by endless *innuendos* prejudicates you as guilty of whatsoever malice can invent, or folly believe. But that charge, therefore, being removed, the inferences that are drawn from it will vanish, and your reputation will easily return to its former brightness.

"Now, that I might the more effectually persuade you to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you, Sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious consequences. It is not a trifling matter for a person, raised as you are above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake in so important a matter. The general and long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And as it happens that you have also enemies of a higher rank, who will be ready to improve such popular mistakes by all sorts of malici-

ous artifices, it must be taken for granted that those errors will be thereby still more confirmed, and the inconveniences that may arise from thence no less increased. This, Sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your friends; for we know you have such enemies. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience, as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those whose interest it is to cross it. I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are; nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means, they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you; that, in your present circumstances, there is sufficient ground for so much jealousy at least as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you; and this the just sense of your honour, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

"Pardon, I entreat you, Sir, the earnestness of these expressions; nay, suffer me, without offence, to expostulate with you yet a little further. I am fearful lest these personal considerations should not have their due weight with you, and therefore I cannot omit to reflect also upon some more general consequences of your particular reproach. I have said it already, that the King, his honour, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation, either are or have been concerned in this matter: your reputation, as you are said to have

meddled in public affairs, has been of public concernment. The promoting a general liberty of conscience having been your particular province, the aspersion of Popery and Jesuitism, that has been cast upon you, has reflected upon His Majesty for having made use, in that affair, of so disguised a personage as you are supposed to have been. It has weakened the force of your endeavours, obstructed their effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint this poor nation of that inestimable happiness, and secure establishment, which I am persuaded you designed, and which all good and wise men agree that a just and inviolable liberty of conscience would infallibly produce. I heartily wish this consideration had been sooner laid to heart, and that some demonstrative evidence of your sincerity in the profession you make had accompanied all your endeavours for liberty.

"But what do I say, or what do I wish for? I confess that I am now struck with astonishment at that abundant evidence which I know you have constantly given of the opposition of your principles to those of the Romish church, and at the little regard there has been had to it. If an open profession of the directest opposition against Popery, that has every appeared in the world since Popery was first distinguished from common Christianity, would serve the turn, this cannot be denied to all those of that Society with which you are joined in the duties of religious worship. If to have maintained the principles of that Society by frequent and fervent

discourses, by many elaborate writings, by suffering ignominy, imprisonment, and other manifold disadvantages, in defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your sincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already. Nay, further; if to have inquired, as far as was possible for you, into the particular stories that have been framed against you, and to have sought all means of rectifying the mistakes upon which they were grounded, could in any measure avail to the setting a true character of you in men's judgments, this also I know you have done. For I have seen, under the hand of a Reverend Dean of our English church (Dr. Tillotson), a full acknowledgment of satisfaction received from you in a suspicion he had entertained upon one of those stories, and to which his report had procured too much credit. And though I know you are averse to the publishing of his letter without his express leave, and perhaps may not now think fit to ask it; yet I am so thoroughly assured of his sincerity and candour, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindicated you in that matter, and will (according to his promise) be still ready to do it upon all occasions. Nay, I have seen also your justification from another calumny of common fame, about your having kidnapped one, who had been formerly a monk, out of your American province, to deliver him here into the hands of his enemies; I say, I have seen your justification from that story under that person's own hand; and his return to Pennsylvania, where he now resides,

may be an irrefragable confutation of it to any that will take the pains to inquire thereinto.

" Really it afflicts me very much to consider that all this does not suffice. If I had not that particular respect for you which I sincerely profess, yet I could not but be much affected, than any man, who had deservedly acquired so fair a reputation as you have formerly had, whose integrity and veracity had always been reputed spotless, and whose charity had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear expense of his time, his strength, and his estate, without any other recompence than what results from the consciousness of doing good: I say, I could not but be much affected, to see any such person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust reproaches as you have done. It is a hard case; and I think no man that has any bowels of humanity can reflect upon it without great relentings.

" Since therefore it is so, and that something remains yet to be done—something more express, and especially more public, than has yet been done—for your vindication; I beg of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy that friendship, either mine or that of your friends and relations together, can have upon you; by the due regard which humanity, and even Christianity, obliges you to have to your reputation; by the duty you owe unto the King; by your love to the land of your nativity; and by the cause of universal religion, and eternal truth; let not the scandal of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any

longer upon you; but let the sense of all these obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and relations, and to serve your King, your country, and your religion, by such a public vindication of your honour, as your own prudence, upon these suggestions, will now show you to be most necessary and most expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most respectful affection, Honoured Sir,

" Your most humble and most
obedient servant,
" WILLIAM POPPLE."

William Penn was at Teddington, near London, when this letter reached him. It was dated the twentieth of October, and on the twenty-fourth he answered it. His answer, which I shall now give to the reader, seems to have been more finished than most of his compositions of the same sort; and affords a proof that, however high others might rise in their style, diction, and the manner of their argument, in those letters which they addressed to him, he also was able, when there was sufficient ground of incitement, to attain an equal height.

" WORTHY FRIEND,

" It is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very solicitous what the world thought of me: for since I have had the knowledge of religion from a principle* in myself, the

* He means the spirit in man, which is illuminated by the Spirit of God, so that the more the former bows itself for instruction to the latter, the more the man advances both inwardly and outwardly to a holy life.

first and main point with me has been to approve myself in the sight of God through patience and well-doing: so that the world has not had weight enough with me to suffer its good opinion to raise me, or its ill opinion to deject me. And if that had been the only motive or consideration, and not the desire of a good friend in the name of many others, I had been as silent to thy letter as I use to be to the idle and malicious shams of the times: but as the laws of friendship are sacred with those that value that relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without offence to a good conscience.

"The business chiefly insisted upon is my Popery, and endeavours to promote it. I do say then, and that with all sincerity, that I am not only no Jesuit, but no Papist; and, which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, or from the discourses or writings of any of that religion. And in the presence of Almighty God I do declare, that the King did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me, or tempt me, upon that subject, the many years that I have had the advantage of a free access to him; so unjust, as well as sordidly false, are all those stories of the town!

"The only reason, that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a Roman Catholic, is, my frequent going to Whitehall, a place no more forbid to me than to the rest of the world, who yet, it seems,

find much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had one business or other there for our Friends, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation through all times since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all persuasions, thinking it a duty to improve the little interest I had for the good of those that needed it, especially the poor. I might add something of my own affairs too, though I must own (if I may without vanity) that they have ever had the least share of my thoughts or pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

" But because some people are so unjust as to render instances for my Popery, (or rather hypocrisy, for so it would be in me,) 'tis fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say then solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at St. Omer's, and having received orders at Rome, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there; nor had I ever a correspondence with any body in those places: which is another story invented against me. And as for my officiating in the King's chapel, or any other, it is so ridiculous as well as untrue, that, besides that nobody can do it but a priest, and that I have been married to a woman of some condition above sixteen years (which no priest can be by any dispensation whatever), I have not so much as looked into any chapel of the Roman religion, and consequently not the King's, though a

common curiosity warrants it daily to people of all persuasions.

" And, once for all, I do say that I am a Protestant Dissenter, and to that degree such, that I challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the English church, or any other, on that head, be he layman or clergyman, in public or in private. For I would have such people know, 'tis not impossible for a true Protestant Dissenter to be dutiful, thankful, and serviceable to the King, though he be of the Roman Catholic communion. We hold not our property or protection from him by our persuasion, and therefore his persuasion should not be the measure of our allegiance. I am sorry to see so many, that seem fond of the Reformed Religion, by their disaffection to him recommend it so ill. Whatever practices of Roman Catholics we might reasonably object against (and no doubt but such there are), yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those ill things by his declared opinion against persecution, by the ease in which he actually indulges all Dissenters, and by the confirmation he offers in Parliament for the security of the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience. And in his honour, as well as in my own defence, I am obliged in conscience to say, that he has ever declared to me it was his opinion; and on all occasions, when Duke, he never refused me the repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor sufferers for conscience sake to solicit his help for.

"But some may be apt to say, 'Why not any body else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable access to other Dissenters, if not a Papist?' I answer, I know not that it is so.——But this I know, that I have made it my province and business; I have followed and prest it; I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years; and, which is more (if I may say it without vanity or reproach), wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation my father had to this King's service, his particular favour in getting me released out of the Tower of London in 1669, my father's humble request to him upon his death-bed to protect me from the inconveniencies and troubles my persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it from the moment I addressed myself to him; I say, when all this is considered, any body, that has the least pretence to good nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the King. Perhaps some will be ready to say, 'This is not all, nor is this yet a fault; but that I have been an adviser in other matters disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people.'——A likely thing, indeed, that a Protestant Dissenter, who from fifteen years old has been (at times) a sufferer in his father's family, in the University, and by the Government, for being so, should design the destruction of the Protestant religion! This is just as probable as it is

true that I died a Jesuit six years ago in America. ——Will men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them?——Is any thing more foolish, as well as false, than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be the author of all that is done there that does not please abroad?——But, supposing some such things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose any thing that I am not called to do? I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office, or trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me; nor, for that reason, could I lie under any test or obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state; and therefore neither can any such acts, or my silence about them, in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing (for that no office is), be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can, with any truth, be alleged against me. However, one thing I know, that I have every where most religiously observed, and endeavoured in conversation with persons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats, and moderate extremes, even in the politics. It is below me to be more particular; but I am sure it has been my endeavour, that if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom, at least we might upon a civil one, the good of England, which is the common interest of King and

People; that he might be great by justice, and we free by obedience; distinguishing rightly, on the one hand, between duty and slavery; and, on the other, between liberty and licentiousness.

"But, alas! I am not without my apprehension of the cause of this behaviour towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural Right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's choice is the religion of him that imposes it: so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for any body, which did not preserve the common Protestancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the Government: for, to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

"Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love England; I ever did so; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued time, money, or kindred, to serve her and do her good. No party could ever

bias me to her prejudice, nor any personal interest oblige me in her wrong: for I always abhorred discounting private favours at the public cost.

"Would I have made my market of the fears and jealousies of the people, when this King came to the crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred thousand into my Province; for mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing: but I waved it all; hoped for better times; expected the effects of the King's word for liberty of conscience, and happiness by it: and till I saw my friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expense here, having in all this time never had either office or pension, and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.

"If, therefore, an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as we would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit, or Papist of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it me. For these are corner-stones and principles with me; and I am scandalized at all buildings which have them not for

their foundations. For religion itself is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no life or virtue to the soul, no good, or example to one's neighbour. Let us not flatter ourselves; we can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse for it. Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds in our resentments; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance: as if a mistake about an obscure proposition of faith were a greater evil than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge: but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And if this be their judgment, can it be our blessing?— Let us not then think religion a litigious thing, nor that Christ came only to make us good disputants, but that he came also to make us good livers: sincerity goes further than capacity. It is charity that deservedly excels in the Christian religion; and happy would it be if where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our differences, and make them at least harmless to society; and therefore I confess, I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our disagreement lies in our apprehension or belief of things; and if the common enemy of mankind had not the governing of our affections and passions, that disagreement would

not prove such a canker, as it is, to love and peace in civil societies.

" He that suffers his difference with his neighbour about the other world to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true. It is too little considered by Christians, that men may hold the truth in unrighteousness; that they may be orthodox, and not know what spirit they are of. So were the apostles of our Lord: they believed in him, yet let a false zeal do violence to their judgment, and their unwarrantable heat contradict the great end of their Saviour's coming, Love.

" Men may be angry for God's sake, and kill people too. Christ said it, and too many have practised it. But what sort of Christians must they be, I pray, that can hate in his name who bids us love, and kill for his sake, that forbids killing, and commands love, even to enemies?

" Let not men, or parties, think to shift it off from themselves. It is not this principle, or that form, to which so great a defection is owing, but a degeneracy of mind from God. Christianity is not at heart; no fear of God in the inward parts; no awe of his divine omnipresence. Self prevails, and breaks out, more or less, through all forms but too plainly, (pride, wrath, lust, avarice,) so that though people say to God, Thy will be done, they do their own; which shows them to be true Heathens, under a mask of Christianity, that believe without works, and repent without forsaking; busy for

forms, and the temporal benefits of them; while true religion, which is to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, goes barefoot, and like Lazarus is despised. Yet this was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion, before Synods and Councils had the meddling with it and modelling of it. In those days bowels were a good part of religion, and that to the fatherless and widow at large. We can hardly now extend them to those of our own way. It was said by him that could not say amiss, 'Because iniquity abounds, the love of many waxeth cold.' Whatsoever divides man's heart from God separates it from his neighbour; and he that loves self more than God, can never love his neighbour as himself. For (as the apostle said) 'If we do not love him, whom we have seen, how can we love God, whom we have not seen?'

"O that we could see some men as eager to turn people to God, as they are to blow them up, and set them one against another! But, indeed, those only can have that pure and pious zeal, who are themselves turned to God, and have tasted the sweetness of that conversion, which is to power, and not to form; to godliness, and not to gain. Such as those do bend their thoughts and pains to appease, not increase heats and animosities; to exhort people to look at home, sweep their own houses, and weed their own gardens. And in no age or time was there more need to set men at work in their own hearts, than this we live in, when so busy, wander-

ing, licentious a spirit prevails; for, whatever some men may think, the disease of this kingdom is sin, impiety against God, and want of charity to men. And while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

"Now this being the disease, I will briefly offer two things for the cure of it.

"The first is David's clean heart and right spirit, which he asked and had of God: without this we must be a chaos still: for the distemper is within; and our Lord said, all evil comes from thence. Set the inward man right, and the outward man cannot be wrong; that is the helm that governs the human vessel; and this nothing can do but an inward principle, the light and grace that came by Christ, which, the Scriptures tell us, enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men.—It is preposterous to think that he, who made the world, should show least care of the best part of it, our souls. No: he that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by. We have it; and it is our condemnation that we do not love it, and bring our deeds to it. 'Tis by this we see our sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he that thinks to go to Heaven a nearer way, will, I fear, belate his soul, and be irrevocably mistaken. There are but goats and sheep at last, whatever shapes we wear here. Let us not therefore, dear friend, deceive ourselves. Our souls are at stake; God will not be mocked; what we sow we must

expect to reap. There is no repentance in the grave; which shows that, if none there, then no where else. To sum up this divinity of mine: It is the light of Jesus in our souls, that gives us a true sight of ourselves, and that sight that leads us to repentance; which repentance begets humility, and humility that true charity that covers a multitude of faults, which I call God's expedient against man's infirmity."

"The second remedy to our present distemper is this: Since all of all parties profess to believe in God, Christ, the Spirit, and Scripture; that the soul is immortal; that there are eternal rewards and punishments; and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other: I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve in the strength of God to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the rest in which we differ. I am persuaded, the change and comfort, which that pious course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our natures to compound easily for all the rest, and we might hope yet to see happy days in poor England, for there I would have so good a work begun. And how it is possible for the eminent men of every religious persuasion (especially the present ministers of the parishes of England) to think of giving an account to God at the last day, without using the utmost of their endeavours to moderate the members of their respective communions towards those that differ from them, is a mystery to

me. But this I know, and must lay it at their doors; I charge also my own soul with it; God requires moderation and humility from us; for he is at hand, who will not spare to judge our impatience, if we have no patience for one another. The eternal God rebuke (I beseech him) the wrath of man, and humble all under the sense of the evil of this day; and yet (unworthy as we are) give us peace for his holy name's sake.

"It is now time to end this letter, and I will now do it without saying any more than this: Thou seest my defence against popular calumny; thou seest what my thoughts are of our condition, and the way to better it; and thou seest my hearty and humble prayer to Almighty God to incline us to be wise, if it were but for our own sakes. I shall only add, that I am extremely sensible of the kindness and justice intended me by my friends on this occasion, and that I am for that, and many more reasons,

"Thy obliged and affectionate Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In about a fortnight after the writing of this letter, the nation being in a ferment on account of the arbitrary proceedings of James the Second, William Prince of Orange landed at Torbay. He was received there with open arms, as well as afterwards by the country at large. Officers and men, abandoning their former banners, deserted to serve under him. The national discontent indeed was

such, that James found it necessary to leave the kingdom and to retire to France. In process of time, as is well known, the Prince of Orange and his consort were advanced to the sovereignty of the realm.

The state of mind, which William Penn must have experienced on this sudden turn of things, may be imagined. He lost, by the flight of the King, one who with all his political failings had been his firm friend. But he lost (what most deeply afflicted him) the great patron, on whom he counted for the support of that plan of religious Toleration, for which chiefly he had abandoned his infant settlement in America, at a time when his presence was of great importance to its well-being. Neither had he any prospect that all he had laboured for or brought about would not, on account of the prejudices of the times, be utterly undone. Fallen too from power, and from the protection which power gave him, he was left exposed to the popular indignation as a *Papist* and *Jesuit*, and as one who had aimed to establish popery and arbitrary power in the kingdom. To return to America, though she presented to him a peaceful asylum, he dared not, for that would have led persons to conclude that he had been guilty of what had been laid to his charge. To stay in England was dangerous. Conscious, however, of his own innocence, he resolved to remain where he was, and to go at large as before, following those occupations

by which he thought he could best promote the good of his fellow-creatures.

But it was not long after this determination, before he felt the effect of the political change which had taken place; for on the tenth of December walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council, who were then sitting. Here he underwent an examination. In reply to some questions which were put to him, he protested, that "he had done nothing but what he could answer before God, and all the Princes in the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and had never acted against either; that all he had ever aimed at in his public endeavours was no other than what the Prince himself had declared for; that King James had always been his friend, and his father's friend; and that in gratitude he himself was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest." Notwithstanding this manly and open declaration, and that nothing appeared against him, the Council obliged him to give security for his appearance the first day of the next term. Having complied with their mandate, he was discharged.

With respect to America, things did not go on to his satisfaction there, for he determined upon another change in the Government by reducing the Executive to three persons. Instead of five Commissioners it was to consist of a Deputy Governor and two Assistants. This arrangement he commu-

nicated by letter to President Lloyd, who had before signified his intention of resigning his office, in which he offered him the Deputy Governorship. "Now, though I have," says he in this letter, "to please thee, given thee a quietus from all public business, my intention is to constitute thee Deputy Governor, and two in the character of Assistants, either of whom and thyself to be able to do all as fully as I myself can do: only I wait thy consent to the employment, of which advise me."

President Lloyd still persisting in his resignation, William Penn was obliged to look out for another person, and in the course of his enquiries fixed upon Captain John Blackwell. He therefore notified this appointment to the Commissioners. In his letter to them he stated that, when he determined upon this change, it "was not because he was dissatisfied with their care or service." He then adverted to the character of Blackwell. "For your ease I have appointed one that is not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man, to be Governor in my absence. He married old General Lambert's daughter; was Treasurer to the Commonwealth's army in England, Scotland, and Ireland: I suppose, independent in judgment. Let him see what he can do awhile. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice. If he do not please you, he shall be laid aside. I desire you to receive him with kindness, and let him see it, and use his not being a Friend to Friends' advantage. He has a mighty repute of all

sorts of honest people, where he has inhabited; which, with my own knowledge, has made me venture upon him." He then spoke of his quit-rents as if still in arrear, and as if Blackwell had been appointed as being a particularly proper person to superintend the collection of them. "I have rough people to deal with about my quit-rents, that yet cannot pay a ten-pound bill, but draw, draw, draw, still upon me. And it being his talent (Blackwell's) to regulate and set things in method, easy and just, I have pitched upon him to advise therein." It appears by the same letter as if he had been dissatisfied with the conduct of the Assembly. "I will add this," says he, "that the Assembly, as they call themselves, are not so without Governor and Privy Council*, and that no Speaker, Clerk, or Book, belongs to them; and that the people have their Representatives in the Privy Council to prepare Bills, and the Assembly, as it is called, has only the power of aye or no, yea or nay. If they turn debaters, judges, or complainers, they overthrow the Charter quite in the very root of the constitution of it, for it is to usurp the Privy Council's part in the Charter, and to forfeit the Charter itself."

At this time Captain Blackwell was in New England, and of course not far from his new Government: but his Commission had been sent him,

* It is to be observed here, that when he changed the Executive to five Commissioners, *the Council still existed separately*, and so it did when he changed it to Deputy Governor and two Assistants.

and with it a letter, in which we find among others the following instructions: "That things should be transacted in his name by the style of his Patent only, namely, absolute Proprietor of Pennsylvania; that Commissions signed and sealed by him in England should be sufficient warrants to pass them under the Great Seal; that the Laws which were in being should be collected and sent over to him in a stitched book by the very first opportunity; that the Sheriffs of the respective counties should be charged with the receipt of his rents and fines, as in England, and give security to the Receiver-general for the time; that care should be taken of the roads and highways in the country, that they might be straight and commodious for travellers, having been improperly turned about by planters for their own convenience; that speedy and impartial justice should be done, and virtue cherished and vice punished; that fines should be in proportion to the fault and ability of the offender; that feuds between persuasions and nations should be extinguished, as well as by good conduct prevented; and that the widow, the orphan, and the absent, might be particularly regarded in their rights."

CHAPTER II.

A. 1689—*appears according to his bail—no witness being found against him, is discharged—Toleration-act passes—the great privileges it conferred—his joy on the occasion—the great share he had in bringing it about—affairs of Pennsylvania.*

THE time drew near, when William Penn was to answer the charges, which might be made against him, in a public Court. Accordingly, on the last day of Easter Term he made his appearance there. After waiting a considerable time, not one person could be produced against him. Not one person could be found who would either say that he was *a Papist* or *Jesuit*, or who would even try to prove that he had aided in any manner the late King in an attempt either to establish popery or arbitrary power. Accordingly, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was discharged in open Court.

Soon after this he had the satisfaction of seeing the great Act of Toleration passed by King, Lords, and Commons. It is true, indeed, that this noble Act did not come up to the extent of his own wishes. And yet how vast the change! All Dissenters were *now excused from certain penalties, if they would only take the Oaths to Government.* They were *allowed to apply for Warrants* for those houses

which they intended to worship in, and *the Magistrates were obliged to grant them;* and, provided they worshipped in these *with the doors not shut, they were not to be molested.* There was a *more particular exemption* in the Act *to the Quakers* for the same purpose. Here then was an end of those vexatious arrests, painful imprisonments, and deaths in bonds, which had afflicted and desolated the country for years. From this time men could go to their respective churches, and worship God in security in their own way. This must have been a most gratifying consideration to one to whose labours the Act itself was in part owing: for, while at the Hague, he had greatly impressed the mind of the Prince of Orange, now King William, in its favour. He had been the means of bringing over also many of his own countrymen, and these in the Legislature, to its support. For in the course of his numerous publications he had examined the question thoroughly, and diffused light concerning it through the kingdom. He had held up pictures of individual suffering, as it had occurred in all its varied shapes, to public view. He had appealed to reason and humanity on the subject. He had anticipated and combated objections. By urging James the Second to issue out, as speedily as he did, and then to renew, his indulgence to tender consciences, he had given an opportunity to persons of public character, and to his fellow-citizens at large, to see what would be the effects of Toleration. It had clearly appeared that, while this indulgence con-

tinued, the nation was in a state of unexampled quiet, and that its interest had been greatly promoted by an extraordinary diffusion of industry, prosperity, and happiness. And here it may be observed, that Dr. Burnet, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and who had taken an active part in favour of the Act in question, gives, in the "History of his own Times," those as reasons why it had passed, which William Penn had long before given as reasons why it ought to pass. One would think, indeed, that the one had made use of the very words of the other. "Wise and good men," says Burnet, "did very much applaud the *quieting* of the nation by the Toleration. It seemed to be suitable both to *the spirit of the Christian religion and to the interest of the nation.* It was thought very unreasonable that, *while we were complaining of the cruelty of the Church of Rome*, we should *fall into such practices among ourselves*, and this while we were engaging in a war, in the progress of which we *would need the united strength of the whole nation.*"

This great act having passed, William Penn thought of returning to America. But as the authors of infant projects, when ushered into the world, feel interested both in watching their progress and their fate, so he felt his inclination checked in this respect for a time from the same cause. He felt a desire to see how this new-born babe would be received in the kingdom; how far the popular fury would be likely to retard, or its favour

to promote its growth. Impressed by such feelings, he resolved to protract his stay to the ensuing year.

In the beginning of this year Captain Blackwell left Boston for Philadelphia. On his arrival there he delivered his appointment to the Commissioners, and, as soon as it was acknowledged by these, he took into his hands the reins of the Government. After a suitable time he summoned the Council and Assembly. He made a speech to the latter, after which he held himself ready to proceed upon the business of the Province. He had not, however, been long in office before a misunderstanding took place between him and some of the Council, so that the public affairs were not managed with the desired harmony. He found it often difficult to get so many of them together as would make a legal meeting for business, though more than this number were known to be in the city at the time. He not only saw, but lamented to the Assembly, that dissentions still existed among them. At one time the Keeper of the Great Seal refused him the use of it on what he (Blackwell) thought (though he might have been mistaken) a proper occasion. These differences between the Deputy Governor and the two Legislatures were early reported to William Penn. All sides made their complaints to him. Of course he was called upon to consider them. Having done this, he wrote to Blackwell, and advised his resignation. The latter, finding that he could not do what had been expected of him in the administration of

the Province, honourably resigned his office, and returned to England, after a short stay in Philadelphia of only a few months.

In a letter written by William Penn to a Friend there, he unfolded more particularly than before the reason why he had appointed Blackwell to the high station of Deputy Governor. It appears that it had always been his wish to confer the Government on a Quaker, as one in whom he himself would have had the most confidence: but there was no Quaker fit for it who would undertake it, persons of that persuasion being generally averse from high political employments. Obliged then to seek out elsewhere, he preferred one who was a stranger to the Province, under a notion that he might be more impartial and more reverenced: but of all strangers Blackwell seemed to him to be the most eligible; for, says he, "he is in England and Ireland of great repute for ability, integrity, and virtue. I thought I did well. It was for good, God knows, and for no end of my own."

What was the cause of dispute between Blackwell and the other branches of the Legislature is not known. It is possible that Blackwell might have made himself obnoxious by attending to the business of the quit-rents more closely than was liked. It is possible, again, that he might have disgusted some by the levity of his deportment; for he was a polished man: he had mixed with great and fashionable people, and had seen the world. The members of the Legislature, on the other hand,

were mostly of the class of Puritans, and of severe manners. They had been rendered still more sour by persecution. It is possible therefore that they might at their first interview, under these opposite aspects, have appeared cool and reserved to him; and that he, fancying this appearance real, might have looked shy upon them. It is possible, again, that they might have been prejudiced against him as a military man. But whatever was the case, certain it is, from the letter just mentioned, that William Penn was induced to suspect, after an attentive consideration of all the evidence before him, that Blackwell's peevishness did not so much arise from any misconduct in him in the first instance as in them. "You see," says he, "what I have done upon the complaints; but I must say, that his peevishness to some Friends has not risen out of the dust without occasion."

On the departure of Blackwell the Executive Government reverted, according to the Constitution, to the Council, of which Thomas Lloyd, not willing to desert the State at this juncture, resumed the Presidency; so that, having passed through the two changes, first of five Commissioners, and then of a Lieutenant Governor with two Assistants, it came back to its old form, as settled by the first General Assembly in 1683.

There are several letters extant, which William Penn wrote to his Friends in America this year. In the first of these, which was written in the early part of it and before the coronation of William and Ma-

ry, he repeated the cause which had so long hindered him from seeing them. "Europe," says he, "looks like a sea of trouble. Wars are like to be all over it this summer. I strongly desire to see you before it be spent, if the Lord will; and I can say in his sight, that to improve my interest with King James for tender consciences, and that a Christian liberty might be legally settled, though against my own interest, was that which has separated me from you chiefly." In the same letter he manifested his great love and tender regard for them as a people. "If," says he, "it be with you as I can say it is with me in the presence of God, then are we one with him; for neither length of days, nor distance of place, nor all the many waters between us, can separate my heart and affection from you."

In a second he invited them to that divine love, which he has just been described to have experienced himself, as their greatest earthly blessing. "And now, Friends," says he, "I have a word more for you, and that is this; that Faith, Hope, and Charity, are the great helps and marks of true Christians; but above all Charity is the Love of God. ——Blessed are they who come to it, and who hold the truth in it, and work and act in it; for they, though poor indeed in spirit of their own, are yet rich in God's; though they are meek, they inherit. ——This will preserve peace in the church; peace in the state; peace in families; peace in particular bosoms. God Almighty draw, I beseech him, all

your hearts into this heavenly love more and more, so that the work of it may shine out more and more to his glory and your comfort!"

In a third, which was a private one to Thomas Lloyd, he advised him of a present which he had sent him, and "which he was to value by the heart, and not by the thing itself."

In a fourth, which was addressed to the same, after the Presidentship of the Council had reverted to him, he instructed him to set up a public Grammar School in Philadelphia, which he, William Penn, would incorporate by a charter at a future time.

In a fifth, which was addressed to the Council after their restoration to power, he expressed himself thus: "I heartily wish you all well, and do beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit, upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands, that you may all see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment. I do earnestly press your constant attendance upon the Government, and the diligent pursuit of peace and virtue; and God Almighty strengthen your hands in so good a work!——If you desire a Deputy Governor rather, name three or five persons, and I will name one of them. I do not do this to lay a binding precedent, but to give you and the people you represent the fullest pledges I am able, at this distance, of my regard to them. Whatever you do, I desire, beseech, and charge you all to avoid fac-

tions and parties, whisperings, and reportings, and all animosities; that, putting your common shoulders to the public work, you may have the reward of good men and patriots; and so I bid you heartily farewell."

CHAPTER III.

A. 1690—letter of thanks to a Friend—is arrested again on a charge of corresponding with James the Second—his open and manly defence before King William—is made to find bail—appears in Court and is discharged—prepares for returning to Pennsylvania—is again arrested—tried—and acquitted—writes to the widow of George Fox on the death of her husband—is on the point of sailing for Pennsylvania, but accused by Fuller—constables sent to take him—the voyage stopped—goes into retirement—affairs of Pennsylvania.

William Penn, though he saw no disposition either in the King or in the Parliament to amend the Toleration-Act, so as to bring it nearer to his own wishes, had yet the pleasure to find that it had at least become so popular, except among some of the Clergy, that it was likely to maintain its ground. Finding, therefore, that he must be satisfied with it as it then stood, and being at the same time thankful to Divine Providence for what had been so far obtained, he resolved to embark for Pennsylvania in the course of the present year.

About this time he wrote to a Friend on the following occasion. He himself had been in the habit of writing letters to the Duke of Buckingham, who was then deceased. His friend had fallen in with

some of these, and was then collecting them, with a view of preventing them from passing into improper hands; for he supposed, probably, that they might contain political matter; and as William Penn was then daily watched by the new Government as a person suspected to be hostile to it, there might be expressions in them, which might be so twisted and misinterpreted, if his enemies should see them, as to afford a handle for putting him to trouble. The letter then, written by William Penn, was a letter of thanks to his friend for the service intended him, and ran thus:

"Though nothing of an interest of my own was the reason of the ancient esteem I have had for thee, yet that only is the motive at this time to this freedom; for being informed by Jer. Grimshaw, that some of my letters to the late Duke of Buckingham are in thy hands, and that thy wonted kindness to all of our communion had shown itself in my regard by collecting them apart, to prevent their falling under any improper notice, I thought myself obliged both to return my acknowledgments for that friendly caution, and to desire thee to let them follow him they were written to, who can be no more known to the living. Poor gentleman! I need not trust another hand than that, which was unwilling any other should be trusted with them but my own. I know not what the circumstances of that time might draw from me; but *my only business with him ever was to make his superior quality and sense useful to this kingdom, that he might not die under the guilt of*

mispending the greatest talents that were among the nobility of any country. However, in the rubbish of those times and the late extraordinary Revolution let them lie, and let us all think of this only way to the peace and happiness we pretend to seek, namely, to give God his due out of us, and then we shall have our dues out of one another; and without it let us not wonder at the nimble turns of the world, nor reflect upon the mischiefs that attend them. They are the natural effects of our breach of duty to God, and will ever follow it. We, like the Jews, are full of jealousy, humour, and complaint, and seek for our deliverance in the wrong place. When we grow a better people, we shall know better days; and when we have cast off Satan's yoke, no other can hold longer upon us. Things do not change. Causes and effects are ever the same; and they that seek to over-rule the eternal order, fight with the winds, and overthrow themselves. But what is this to my subject? I close with the true sense of all thy tenderness to our poor folks, and regards to myself, beseeching God, that more than the reward of him that gives a cup of cold water in the name of a Disciple may be thy portion, when this very trifling world may be no more.

"I am thy affectionate, true Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

Soon after the writing of this letter, and while he was turning his thoughts towards the things to be done preparatory to his voyage, he was arrested by a body of military, and brought again before the

Lords of the Council. The charge then against him was, that he was holding a traitorous correspondence with the late King, who was then in France. Upon this he desired to appeal to King William in person. His request was granted. The King and Council appeared together. A letter was then produced, which had been written to him by James, and which had been intercepted by Government on its way, in which he (James) "desired him (Penn) to come to his assistance, and to express to him the resentments of his favour and benevolence." The question first put to William Penn was, why King James wrote to him? He answered, that it was impossible for him to prevent the King from writing to him, if he, the King, chose it. He was then questioned as to what resentments these were, which James seemed to desire of him. He answered, "he knew not; but he supposed the King meant that he should endeavour his Restoration. Though, however, he could not avoid the suspicion of such an attempt, he could avoid the guilt of it. He confessed he had loved King James, and, as he had loved him in his prosperity, he could not hate him in his adversity; yes, he loved him yet for the many favours he had conferred on him, though he could not join with him in what concerned the state of the kingdom. He owned again, that he had been much obliged to the King, and that he was willing to repay his kindness by any private service in his power; but that he must observe inviolably and entirely that duty to the State, which belonged to all the

subjects of it; and therefore that he had never had the wickedness even to think of endeavouring to restore him that crown, which had fallen from his head; so that nothing in that letter could in any wise fix guilt upon him." This defence, which was at once manly, open, and explicit, had its weight with the King, so that he felt himself inclined to dismiss him as an innocent person; but some of the Council interfering, he, to please them, ordered him to give bail to appear at the next Trinity Term. After this he was permitted to withdraw, and to go at large as before.

There can be no doubt but that, in a sitting which occupied two hours, many more questions were put to, and of course answers given by, William Penn, than those which have been now communicated; but these are all that have come down to us, and but for Gerard Croese they might have remained as if they had never been. That his account, as now given, is generally true is highly credible; for the editors of that splendid work generally termed "Picart's Religious Customs and Ceremonies of all Nations," speaking of William Penn, allude to the defence which he made on this occasion. "This," say they, "was confirmed by a letter King James wrote to Penn from France after the Revolution had been brought about by King William the Third. Penn was *strictly examined concerning this correspondence.* His answer *was noble, generous, and wise:* but party-animosity made it be looked upon, in the hurry of spirits at that time, as a barefaced

espousing King James's cause. And most Protestants*, chiefly news and libel-writers, thought it no less a crime than high treason to profess a friendship for that Prince."

William Penn, being now at large for a time, was so conscious of his own innocence, and therefore so fearless of the consequences of his approaching trial, that he actually employed himself in preparing for his voyage to Pennsylvania. At the time appointed he appeared in Court: but here, as before, no one coming forward as evidence against him, he was honourably discharged.

Being once more at liberty, he returned to his home, when his voyage occupied his attention again. At this time the country was in great consternation on account of an expected invasion by the French. The French fleet had already beaten the English in conjunction with the Dutch, and was then hovering off the coast. King William too was in Ireland. The Queen therefore was obliged to exert herself in defence of the nation. This she did by calling out the militia and in other ways: but in order to strike terror at this moment into the supposed conspirators with France, she published a proclamation for apprehending Edward Henry, Earl of Lichfield; Thomas, Earl of Aylesbury; William, Lord Montgomery; Roger, Earl of Castlemain; Richard, Viscount Preston; Henry, Lord Bellasis; Sir

* Picart's book was a Roman Catholic publication, printed at Paris, and afterwards translated into the English language.

Edward Hales; Sir Robert Thorold; Sir Robert Hamilton; Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe; Colonel Edward Sackvile; Lieutenant Colonel William Richardson; Major Thomas Soaper; Captain David Lloyd; Edmond Elliott; Marmaduke Langdale; Edward Rutter; and William Penn. Here then we see William Penn brought into trouble again; for the above Proclamation was not out long, before he was again apprehended and sent to prison. He was obliged to lie there till the last day of Michaelmas Term, when he was brought up before the King's Bench Court, Westminster, for trial. The result was equally honourable as in the former cases; for, though evidence appeared, it failed to prove any thing against him.

William Penn began now to think that there was no security for his person in England. No sooner had he been legally and honourably acquitted of one charge, than he was arrested upon another. Under these circumstances he looked to his departure from England both with anxiety and delight. Having accomplished in a great degree the principal object for which he had crossed the Atlantic, he longed now with the most earnest longing for a quiet retreat in Pennsylvania. He used accordingly double diligence for that purpose. He was already far advanced in his preparations for the voyage. The vessel had been taken up, which was to carry him over. Numbers of persons also, in consequence of certain proposals, which he had published this summer, for a new settlement in Pennsylvania, had

been preparing to accompany him, some in his own, and others in other vessels. The Secretary of State also had gone so far as to appoint him a convoy, which was to be ready on a given day.

Just at this time George Fox, his beloved Friend, and the founder of the religious Society of the Quakers, died in London. It fell to his lot to communicate this event to his wife, who was then in Lancashire. His letter was very short. "I am to be," says he, "the teller to thee of sorrowful tidings in some respect, which is this, that thy dear Husband, and my beloved and dear Friend, finished his glorious testimony this night about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath. O, he is gone, and has left us in the storm that is over our heads, surely in great mercy to him, but as an evidence to us of sorrows to come!" In alluding to his powers as a minister of the Gospel, he says, "a Prince indeed is fallen in Israel to-day;" and to his irreproachable life, "he died, as he lived, a lamb, minding the things of God and his Church to the last, in an universal spirit." After this, when the time came, he attended his remains to the grave. Here he spoke publicly, and for a considerable time, to about two thousand persons who attended the funeral; thus paying the last earthly respect in his power to his deceased Friend, and thus endeavouring to make even his death useful to those present.

It appeared now, as if he had little more to do than to take leave of his numerous Friends, and to embark. But alas, how short-lived and transitory are

sometimes our best hopes! In an instant all his happy dreams, all his expectations came to nothing: for, but a day or two before the funeral of George Fox, a wretch of the name of Fuller, one whom Parliament afterward had occasion to declare *a cheat and impostor**, had come forward with an accusation against him upon oath, so that messengers had been sent to the very funeral itself with a warrant to apprehend him; but, mistaking the hour, they arrived too late for their purpose. Thus his voyage was entirely stopped for the present year.

Unable now to leave the kingdom with honour, the vessels proceeded without him to Pennsylvania. He wrote by them of course to explain the causes which had hindered him from arriving at the same time, but none of these letters have been preserved. One, however, is forthcoming, which he wrote by a subsequent conveyance, and which relates to the event in question. "By this time," says he, "thou wilt have heard of my troubles, the only hinderance of my return, being in the midst of my preparations with a great company of adventurers when they came upon me.——The jealousies of some and unworthy dealings of others have made way for them:

* The House resolved, "That William Fuller was a notorious impostor, a cheat, and a false accuser, having scandalized the Magistrates and the Government, abused this House, and falsely accused several persons of honour and quality;" and they resolved on an Address to His Majesty to command his Attorney-general to prosecute the said impostor. He was accordingly prosecuted, and sentenced to the pillory, in which he is said to have stood without either modesty or remorse.

but under and over it all the ancient Rock has been my shelter and comfort; and I hope yet to see your faces with our ancient satisfaction. The Lord grant it, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be in all conditions; for this world passeth away, and the beauty of it fadeth: but there are eternal habitations for the faithful, among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the Princes of the earth.

"I desire that my afflictions may cease, if not cure, your animosities or discontents among yourselves, if yet they have continued, and that thou wilt, both in Government and to my Commissioners, yield thy assistance all thou canst.—By all this God may prepare me to be better for future service, even to you there. I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my own great loss, and for an ungrateful generation, it is punishment. It has been twenty thousand pounds damages in the country, and about ten thousand pounds here, and to the Province five hundred families. But the wise God, who can do what he pleases as well as see what is in man's heart, is able to requite all; and I am persuaded all yet shall work together for good in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views God-ward in public matters.——See that all be done prudently and humbly, and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety. God Almighty

be with you, and amongst you, to his praise, and to your peace!"

William Penn, after this new accusation by Fuller, determined upon retirement. To have gone to Pennsylvania, merely with a view of making his escape, would have been useless, for he would have been equally amenable there to British laws. But to have gone there, even if no laws could have reached him, would have been disgraceful. It would have been, while such an accusation hung over his head, to lose his reputation, and of course his influence and future usefulness in his own Province. To have delivered himself up voluntarily, on the other hand, into the hands of the Magistracy, and this after three Trials, in all which he had been acquitted, seemed unnecessary, and to answer no public end. This indeed would have been to sacrifice his health in a prison; and then, after a fourth acquittal, there would have been no security that some profligate wretch would not have accused him again, and this in the midst of expensive preparations for another voyage. He judged it therefore best to retreat from the world for a while. By this resolution he did not throw himself wantonly in the way of the Government, nor did he endeavour to fly from it. If those in the Administration chose to press another Trial, they might discover where he was, or they might seize him if he ventured abroad; for his person had been often marked, and was generally known. It was his belief, too, that innocent men, who offered up their prayers to the

Almighty, were usually directed for the best, and that it became him therefore to remain in England, and, shutting himself up from the affairs of the world, to wait humbly for guidance as to his future path. Accordingly he took a private lodging in London, where he devoted himself to study and religious exercises, and where he was occasionally visited by a few friends.

The absence of William Penn began now to be seriously felt in the Province; for about this time the symptoms of disorder appeared, which afterwards greatly disturbed it, and which, it is supposed, had he resided there, never would have taken root at all; because the open, candid, and impartial way in which he conducted the Government gave no opportunities for jealousies or suspicions; and because his temperate and conciliating manners, and his readiness to hear and redress grievances, and his power so to do, healed them when produced. Among these symptoms, it appeared as if the people of the Territories wished to have separate interests from those of the Province.——William Penn had by Charter connected both of them in Legislation and Government, and had considered them as one people. He had of course given them equal privileges, and a share in the Government in proportion to their respective populations. But yet dissatisfaction began to creep in. The inhabitants of the Territories, conceiving that public appointments ought to be more evenly distributed, as it respected them, than they appeared to be,

began to think that there ought to be separate Establishments for the said Territories and Province; that is, one set of civil Officers for the one, and a distinct set for the other, to be chosen by the Representatives of each in Council. The first consequence of this notion was the following. William Clark, Luke Watson, Griffith Jones, John Brinkloe, John Cann, and Johannes d'Haes, six of the Council belonging to the Territories, met in the Council-room privately and without any official summons, and, considering themselves as a legal Council, issued forth Commissions for constituting Provincial Judges and other Officers. Such an act, it must be obvious, would give rise to disturbances: for the Officers who were appointed by them would not like to give up their places; and, the election itself being void, it was not probable that they would be continued. Hence the real and pretended electors would divide into two parties, each having its partisans. It was therefore necessary to come to some determination on this point, and accordingly a Council was legally summoned for the purpose. This Council decreed, after exposing the absurdity of the proceedings in question, "That all Entries, Orders, and Commissions, made and given forth by the above six Members, were deemed null and void from that day; of which all Magistrates, Officers, and others concerned, were to take due notice." Thus the matter was settled for the present year.

CHAPTER IV.

A. 1691—continues in retirement—new Proclamation for his apprehension—becomes more unpopular than ever—falls under the censure of some of his own Society—writes in consequence a general letter to the members of it—is visited in his retirement—Message sent to him there by John Locke—writes a preface to Barclay's Apology—affairs of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM PENN had been but little more than six weeks in his retirement, when another Proclamation came out for the apprehension of him, and of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, and of James Grahame. This Proclamation was in consequence of the accusation of Fuller. It was founded on the charge, that he and the two just mentioned had been accomplices in a conspiracy with the Earl of Clarendon, the Viscount Preston, and two others of the names of Elliott and Ashton, (the latter of whom had been executed in consequence only a month before,) to send intelligence to, and to invite over to England, James the Second, who was then in France. The clamour now was greater than ever against him. He was loaded with reproaches from almost all quarters. All those who disliked him, and there were too many of this description, took this new op-

portunity of reviling him. In the first place, those of the Church of England, except Dr. Tillotson and a very few other liberal individuals, hated him with an implacable hatred, because he had taken up the cause of the Dissenters. Hence *Papist*, *Jesuit*, Rogue, and Traitor, resounded where they went. In the second place, the Dissenters hated him because they supposed that, under the mask of religious liberty, he had been promoting the schemes of James in behalf of popery and arbitrary power. They propagated therefore the same epithets with the same industry and virulence. Thirdly, there was at this time a numerous class of foreign Protestants in the kingdom, namely, those who had fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. All these joined also in the cry of his condemnation. They had themselves smarted under the lash of Popery, and had therefore no mercy upon the man who would restore James, and thus revive it in the land which was to be now the land of their habitation. Add to this, that he began to fall under the censure of many of his own religious Society. This grieved him more than all. He had borne up against the opprobrium of the world, and had made no attempt to counteract it: but he could no longer be silent under this new wound; and therefore he addressed to the members at large, through their Representatives met in their Annual Assembly, the following letter:

" My beloved, dear, and honoured Brethren,

" My unchangeable love salutes you; and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings, neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me, your afflicted but not forsaken Friend and Brother. My enemies are yours; and, in the ground, mine for your sake: and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely, against me; 'for wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge things I knew not,' who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great enemies, and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt no man; but always desired that Truth and Righteousness, Mercy and Peace, might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, my dear and beloved Brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake me, but wrestle with him that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some, that we may yet meet in the congregation of his people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of his chosen, in all generations, be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn Assemblies with his blessed presence! that his tender, meek, lowly, and heavenly Love and Life may flow among you, and that he would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful op-

portunity to you, desiring to be remembered of you before him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you in the nearest relation,

"Your faithful Friend and Brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

While he was living in retirement he was visited by a few select friends, who were mostly of the same religious profession with himself. These administered to him consolation in their turn. There was one person, however, not of the Society, by whose grateful remembrance of him at this afflicting season he was peculiarly gratified. His old friend and fellow collegian, John Locke, had come home in the fleet which had brought the Prince of Orange to England. Finding that he had been persecuted in the manner described, he desired to be the instrument of procuring a pardon for him from King William. It may be remembered that William Penn had made a similar offer to Locke when the latter was in banishment at the Hague. It is remarkable that the same answers followed on both occasions. William Penn persisted in declaring that he had never been guilty of the crime alleged against him, and that he could not therefore rest satisfied with a mode of liberation, the very terms of which would be to the world a standing monument of his guilt.

After this we hear nothing more of William Penn for the remainder of the year, except that he wrote a Preface to the Works of the celebrated Apologist, Robert Barclay, and another to those of John Burn-

yeat, an eminent minister of his own religious Society, and with whom he had been in habits of friendship for many years.

As for his affairs in America, they bore an aspect worse than ever. Though the Decree of the Provincial Council, as mentioned in the last chapter, had been carried into effect, it did not remove the dissatisfaction which had sprung up among the inhabitants of the Territories. They still conceived they had not their share of public appointments, and therefore they requested the Council to propose a Bill to the Assembly, to enable nine of the members of the Territories, or any six of them, to appoint three Judges, and also all other Officers; and that no other Judges and Officers should be imposed upon them for the said Territories but such as were so chosen.

This proposal was transmitted to England by Thomas Lloyd. William Penn was much hurt on receiving it. Willing, however, to show the people of the Territories that he was not inattentive to their complaints, he proposed to the Council, which consisted of both parties, as a first effort at conciliation, the choice of any of the three Governments of which they had had a trial. The Executive might be invested in a Council, or in five Commissioners, or in a Deputy Governor. They could any of them tell which of these they had found the most impartial in the distribution of public places.

On the publication of this offer, it appeared to be the wish of the people of the Province that a Depu-

ty Governor should exercise the power in question; and accordingly without delay they requested that Thomas Lloyd might be appointed to the office. But no sooner was this request made, than the members for the Territories protested against it. They preferred, they said, the five Commissioners; and most of all they disliked a Deputy Governor. They gave the reasons for their preference; but the true one was, that, if a Deputy Governor were appointed, they would be burthened in part with the expense of his support.

As soon as this preference was understood, with the unworthy motive which had induced it, Thomas Lloyd wrote a letter to the members for the Territories, and sent it to them by four respectable persons to Newcastle, who might confer with them on the subject. In this letter he warned them against the effects of their conduct both upon the Province and Territories, and patriotically promised, on his part, that as long as he remained in the station of Deputy Governor he would not burthen the latter with the charge of a single penny for himself, nor would he ever accept of any maintenance for himself from them at any future time, unless they themselves should voluntarily make a request to him for that purpose. But neither letter nor embassy would do; and the consequence was, that these members, regardless of the confusion to which their rashness might expose the country, not only ceased to attend in their legislative capacities, but prevented others from being elected in their places:

and, what is more remarkable, they were supported in these their proceedings by Colonel Markham, the relation of William Penn.

Thomas Lloyd was now acknowledged as Deputy Governor by the Province, and acted in that capacity, though he was not acknowledged as such by the Territories. When this was reported to William Penn, he was much displeased. He was displeased first with Thomas Lloyd. He considered his acceptance of such a broken Office, of such an half Government, as pregnant with mischief, because likely to confirm the notion of a division of interests between the Province and Territories, as before described. His displeasure, however, was soon removed; for the Council, in a letter to him, declared that Thomas Lloyd, instead of being a gainer by any public office he had held, had considerably worsened his own estate thereby; so that self-interest could have been no motive with him for accepting the new Commission. They said, too, that he was a great lover and promoter of concord, that he disliked a public life, and that he never would have accepted the Commission but by the importunity of his friends and of the Province itself. William Penn then began to be angry with the Territory-men. He could not help blaming them for their ingratitude. They had considered it as a great mercy to be united to the Province, and now they wished to be separated from it, though tied to it by Charter. He considered their movements to have sprung from no other source than that of ambition. "This

striving," says he in a letter to a friend, "can arise from nothing else; and what is that spirit, which would sooner divide the child than let things run on in their own channel, but that which sacrifices all bowels to wilfulness? Had they learned what this means, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' there had been no breaches nor animosities between them, at least till I had come."——However, it was not the being angry with the one or with the other that would cure dissentions and save his possessions. The case was to be considered impartially and coolly, with a view to the best remedy; and dispatch was necessary. Suffice it to say, that, after mature deliberation, he concluded it to be best to confirm the Deputy Governorship to Thomas Lloyd, which would please the Province, and, as an equivalent on the other side, to appoint Colonel Markham his Deputy Governor of the Territories: and accordingly he sent out Commissions for that purpose.

Besides the schism between the Province and the Territories, another of a different nature, a religious one, had sprung up. One George Keith was the author it. He is said to have been a man of quick natural parts and considerable literary attainments, fond of disputation, acute in argument, and confident and overbearing in the same. He had been for some time an acknowledged minister among the Quakers. He now found fault with the discipline of the Society. He ridiculed some of its customs, and certain also of its religious tenets, though he had once written in their defence. He passed con-

tempt on the decisions of some of their Meetings. Soon after this he founded a new sect. Those who followed him he called Christian Quakers, and all the others Apostates. By his plausible manner and powerful talent of speaking he had drawn so many after him as to fill one Meeting-house. Thus, by dividing the Quakers, he added two parties to those which political differences had made before.

CHAPTER V.

A. 1692—continues in retirement—writes "Just Measures"—general contents of this work—also "A Key" whereby to know and distinguish the Religion of the Quakers—general contents of it—also "New Athenians no noble Bereans"—affairs of Pennsylvania.

William Penn continued in retirement; and it is remarkable that he was never disturbed by constable, magistrate, or any other officer of justice. His friends frequently visited him. Among other objects which interested his mind during this period, he was particularly anxious to promote harmony in his own religious Society, and to defend it from the attacks of its enemies. Disputes concerning discipline still continued among the members of it; but these had taken a new turn. There were some, for example, who saw no reasons why there should be meetings of women to do any part of the business of the Society separate from the men. William Penn therefore, to do away this notion, argued the case in a little work, to which he gave the following title, "Just Measures, being an Epistle of Peace and Love to such Professors of Truth as are under Dissatisfaction about the Order practised in the Church of Christ."

He lamented in this work that they, who were one in faith and worship, should be divided as to the mere management of the Church. Had they been divided as to the former points, this would have been a serious cause of difference, because the conscience would have been concerned in it. But the matters in dispute had no such relation. They related to mere modes of government or formality in order, but not to the essentials of religion. At the same time the Discipline, though it was not a matter of conscience, embraced a care which had a wide range of operation for good. It was the business, for example, of all Churches to take care of the births, marriages, and funerals of their members; to look to the poor and necessitous, the young, the aged, and infirm among them; and particularly to those who were morally weak and diseased; so that by wholesome admonition they might assist in curing the latter, as well as in trying to prevent similar disorders in others. Now there must be forms of Discipline or Church-government, or the care of such important matters could not be carried on. But were not women in the sight of God, and according to the light of the Gospel, parts of the Church of Christ, as well as men? And, if they were parts of this Church, ought they not to become helpers in the Church's business? But, besides, it must be obvious that, when women came under the discipline of the Society, women were more fit to interfere than men, that is, they were fitter persons than men to have the care and oversight of their

own sex. This was the general substance of his essay on this subject.

It happened at this time, that the Quakers began to be attacked by some of other religious denominations as to their doctrinal creed, after a long interval, during which scarcely any one had disturbed them on this account. Many began, but particularly among the Baptists who lived at Deptford, to misrepresent their principles; that is, they gave out their own perversions of the Quakers' doctrines, and called these their Creed. These perversions soon came to the knowledge of William Penn, who, after having diligently collected them, brought out a publication called "A Key, opening the Way to every Capacity how to distinguish the Religion professed by the People called Quakers, from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries; with a brief Exhortation to all Sorts of People to examine their Ways and their Hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord."

The way in which he managed his Key was this. First, he gave out the general head of the doctrine which had been misrepresented. Under this head he placed the proposition or propositions as they contained the doctrine in its perverted state. Under this again he gave the proposition or propositions as they contained the doctrine as it was received by true Quakers. Upon the latter he then reasoned, taking care to show the difference between the meaning of the two. The general heads of the doctrines were these: "The light within, what it is, and the

Virtue and Benefit of it to Man—Infallibility and Perfection—The Scriptures, their Truth, Authority, and Service—The holy Spirit of God, and its Office with respect to Man and the Ministry—The holy Three, or Scripture Trinity—The Divinity of Christ—The Manhood of Christ—Christ Jesus, his Death, and Sufferings—Good Works—Water Baptism and the Supper—The Resurrection and eternal Recompence—Civil Honour and Respect—Civil Government." The propositions under these general heads were drawn up with great conciseness, and yet with remarkable perspicuity. The pamphlet indeed, which contained them, was a masterly performance, and reached the twelfth edition even in the lifetime of its author.

The Quakers were attacked also in a periodical paper, which was published in London at this time, and which was called "The Athenian Mercury." In no less than three numbers of the said paper, objections were raised both to their practice and doctrines. They were called persecutors on account of their discipline, and silly enthusiasts for refusing a civil oath. They were charged with speaking contemptibly of the Scriptures, of denying them to be the word of God, of turning them into allegories, of rejecting the notion of a Trinity, also the notions of the resurrection of the body and of the plenary satisfaction of Christ. These and similar charges appeared in the same paper. William Penn thought it right to answer them. This he did in a work which he called "The New Athenians no noble

Bereans," though in his "Just Measures" and in his "Key" together he might be said to have answered them before.

While he was employed in these works, his mind was deeply affected by a circumstance which seemed to point to an issue materially connected with his domestic happiness. It was but too apparent that the health of his wife began to be seriously impaired; and at this time the symptoms, which had before shown themselves, had broken out into actual sickness. Neither the disorder itself, nor the cause of it, has been handed down to us. It is certain, however, that the great trials, difficulties, and afflictions, under which her husband had laboured and was then labouring, must have affected her mind; and it is therefore not improbable, that this affection was the original cause of her complaint.

The intelligence which was sent him from America during this period, was both pleasing and distressing. In the first place, it was a matter of no small consolation to him to learn, that the Commissions, which he had sent out for two Deputy Governors, had been the instruments of restoring tranquillity to his possessions even beyond his expectations. The people of the Province were pleased with his confirmation of the appointment of Thomas Lloyd, because the latter had been the object of their own choice: and those of the Territories were pleased with the appointment of Markham: first, because he had espoused their cause; and secondly, because, having him for a Deputy Go-

vernor, they had their own separate Council also; and from one or both of these all appointments to civil offices would be made out of themselves for their own district. The Deputy Governors too acted in harmony, so that they agreed to write a joint letter to their Governor, of which the following is a copy:

"WORTHY GOVERNOR,

"These few lines, we hope, may much ease thy mind in reference to thy exercises concerning the affairs of thy Government here, by informing thee, that with unanimous accord we rest satisfied with thy two Deputations sent for the Executive Government of the Province and Territories annexed. And thy Deputies concurring amicably at this time to act as one general Government in legislation, we have proceeded in preparing jointly some few Bills, that thereby our present united actings may be as well published as the respective services of the Government answered. What particular transactions of moment, which have occurred upon our calm debates of the choice of Three, we refer to the Minutes for thy satisfaction. We heartily wish thee well; and with longing expectations desire thy speedy return to us, where, we doubt not, thou wilt find a most grateful reception, and better face of affairs than may seem to thee there at this distance. So bidding thee adieu at this time, we remain

"Thy faithful and well-wishing Friends,

"THOMAS LLOYD,

"WILLIAM MARKHAM."

With respect to the other part of the intelligence, it appeared that Keith had increased the religious schism before mentioned. He had drawn off with him so large a portion of persons, as to have set up Meetings in divers places. He had however, in consequence of these proceedings, been excommunicated or disowned by those who had remained faithful at their post. Exasperated at this, he had made himself doubly troublesome. He had proceeded to vilify the Magistrates, and this in cases where, if they had not acted as they did, they would not have done their duty. One instance of this will suffice. A man of the name of Babit, with some others, had stolen a small sloop from a wharf in Philadelphia, and these, in going down the river with it, had committed other robberies. Intelligence of this having been given to the Magistrates, three of them gave out a warrant in the nature of an hue and cry to take them, with a view of bringing them to punishment. It so happened that the men were taken and brought to justice. Now as the Magistrates who granted this warrant were all Quakers, Keith had gone about and represented their conduct on this occasion as a violation of their religious principles: for he considered the apprehension of the offenders as a species of war against their persons; and against war they, the Magistrates, pretended to bear their testimony as a religious people. From one thing he had proceeded to another. He had published virulent books, reflecting upon the Magistrates in other respects, endeavouring there-

by to degrade them in the eyes of their inferiors. For one of these publications he had been presented by the Grand Jury of Philadelphia, and had afterwards been tried, found guilty, and fined. Notwithstanding this, he was still following the same disorderly career.

CHAPTER VI.

A. 1693—continues in retirement—is deprived of his Government by King William—his forlorn situation at this period—resolves upon returning to Pennsylvania—letter to that effect—but is prevented by embarrassed circumstances—writes "Fruits of Solitude"—preface and contents of the same—also "Essay towards the Present and Future State of Europe"—analysis of the latter—letter to N. Blandford—is heard before King William and his Council, and acquitted—death of his wife—her character—affairs of Pennsylvania.

THE intelligence which William Penn had received last from America, as it related to Keith, gave him, on the very first perusal of it, the most serious uneasiness, not only because the conduct of the latter tended to spread still wider the seeds of confusion in the Province and Territories, but because he foresaw, as several of his letters at the time testify, those unhappy consequences which very soon afterwards resulted to himself. They who were at the head of affairs in England, were no strangers to the disorders which had taken place in his Government during the last two years; and, as he himself had become obnoxious to them, they had taken care already to make the most of them to the King. They had already held up to him the quar-

rels between the Province and Territories, as arguments to prove that he, William Penn, was incapable of governing the new country which had been granted to him. As soon therefore as the schism of Keith with all its ramifications and consequences became known, they considered their arguments as confirmed. Hence they spread reports of it, but particularly of his trial and punishment by fine, throughout the kingdom. By the pains taken to communicate the latter, they occasioned a great sensation both in Westminster-hall and in the two Houses of Parliament. They soon afterwards affirmed, that Pennsylvania was in a state of ruin, and that nothing could save it but taking away the Government from William Penn. Not a moment, they said, was to be lost in resorting to this expedient; and so rapidly was this notion disseminated, and industriously impressed upon the King and Queen, that by a Commission granted by William and Mary to Colonel Fletcher, the Governor of New York, to take upon him the Government of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto annexed, William Penn was, very soon after the news had arrived, *deprived of all authority over the same*,—and this before he had time to explain himself on the subject, or to throw in any reasons in bar of the appointment which had taken place.

One may more readily conceive than describe the feelings which must have sprung up in his mind, when the news of this cruel measure was conveyed to him. All his hopes and prospects of giving to

the world a pattern, as he had imagined, of a more perfect Government and of a more virtuous and happy People, were now over.——His fortune might now be considered, not as having been prudently and benevolently expended in America, but as having been absolutely thrown away.——Removed from the high situation of a Governor of a province, he was now a persecuted exile.——Dashed down from the pinnacle as it were of eminence and of favour in his native country, he was now living between privacy and a gaol.——Keith, from having been once his confidential friend, had become now a traitor.——His wife, who was on the bed of sickness, and in a state of visible decline, brought on no doubt by a deep feeling for his misfortunes, was now subjected to the weight of a tenfold trial from the same cause.——Add to this, that his name had become a name of public reproach. Individuals even of his own religious Society, as I mentioned in the former chapter, had deserted him; but now, to aggravate the case, he had fallen in the esteem of a considerable number of those who belonged to it*. He had fallen in the esteem of those

* There can be no doubt of this fact: not that the Quakers ever considered him as a Papist, or as guilty of the charge brought against him by Fuller, as contained in the last Proclamation, but that he *had meddled more with politics, or with the concerns of the Government, than became a member of their Christian body*, though they allowed that he took such a part often out of pure benevolence to others. I have a memorandum to this effect, left by Thomas Lower in his own hand-writing, dated at the latter end of the present year, which is as follows:

whom he "had loved above his chiefest joy." He had become therefore a sort of outcast of society. It seemed indeed as if the measure of his affliction was now full. But, happily for him, he found resources equal to the pressure which bore upon him. Had he been a mere earthly-minded man, all had been wretchedness and despair. We know not to what lengths a situation so desperate might have driven him. But he still kept his reliance on the great Rock which had supported him. He knew that human life was full of vicissitudes; but he believed that they who submitted with patience and resignation to the divine will would not be ultimately forsaken, and that to such even calamities worked together for their good.

"Underwritten is what was upon my mind to offer, and which I have since offered to William Penn as an expedient *for a reconciliation betwixt him and Friends.*

"First, for William Penn to write a tender, reconciling epistle to all Friends as in the love and wisdom of God it shall be opened unto him, and in the closure thereof to insert as followeth, or to the following effect:

"'And if in any things during these late revolutions I have concerned myself either by words or writings (in love, pity, or good-will to any in distress,) further than consisted with *Truth's honour* or *the Church's peace*, I am sorry for it; and the Government having passed it by, I desire it may be by You also, that so We may be all kept and preserved in the holy tie and bond of Love and Peace to serve God and his Truth in our generation to the honour of his holy Name, which will render Us acceptable to God, and more precious one to another; and finally bring Us, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to the participation of the immortal crown which is prepared for all that continue faithful in well-doing unto the end.'"

Having lost his Government, one of the most important questions that occurred to him in the present year was, not how he might regain it, but what it became him to do that the Province and Territories might suffer as little as possible by the change. A new Governor had already been appointed, and this a mere military man, who, knowing nothing of his plans, might introduce a system which would counteract, if not sap the foundation of, his own, and thus prevent all the good he had expected from the latter. It appears that, after having considered the subject, he determined upon going to Pennsylvania, though it is evident that he could only have gone there as a private person. He knew, however, that even in this capacity he could be useful there. He could take care, for instance, by being on the spot, that the Constitution, which he had made so many sacrifices to settle, should not be infringed without a reasonable complaint or protest on the part of himself and others. He says, in a letter written at this time to certain Friends in Pennsylvania jointly, that, "considering how things then stood and might stand with them, it was necessary that he should speedily return." But, alas! he had become so embarrassed in his circumstances, that he knew not how to get over to them. "His expenses," he said in the same letter, "had been great in King James's time, and his losses great in this King's time, the one being at least seven thousand pounds, and the other above four thousand pounds, together with four hundred and fifty

pounds a year totally wasted in Ireland. He suggested therefore to his Friends to find out a hundred persons in the Province who would each of them lend him one hundred pounds, free of interest, for four years. He would give them his bond for the loan. The money, if raised then, would be ten times more to him than the same sum at any other time, and he would never forget the kindness of those who should lend it. In this case he would bring his wife and family over with him." It appears, by this letter, as if he could have obtained permission for the voyage. King William, indeed, had often expressed a regard for him; but the King could not always resist the opinion of his Ministers, or of those who frequented his Court.

As he was to continue in his retirement, at least till an answer came to this letter, he had no other way of benefiting mankind in the interim than by his writings. He undertook for this purpose a little work, which was to consist of the result of his own experience on many important subjects. He had seen much of life. He had travelled in his own country and in Ireland. He had visited France, Holland, and Germany. He had lived in America, then reputed a new quarter of the globe. He had surveyed therefore men under different tongues, colours, climates, manners, religions, and governments. He had himself experienced prosperity and adversity. In the course therefore of his chequered experience he had found out, he believed, what was wisdom and what was folly, what would turn to

solid enjoyment, and what to vexation of spirit. He determined therefore to put down in his retirement such Maxims on different subjects as he thought he could warrant as substantial, and, when thus collected, to publish them. This book he accordingly completed after no small labour, and brought it out under the title of "Some Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of human Life." The preface to it, which is both lively and instructive, will give the reader some notion of its value.

"The Enchiridion, Reader, I now present thee with, is the fruit of Solitude, a school few care to learn in, though none instructs us better. Some parts of it are the result of serious reflection, others the flashing of lucid intervals, written for private satisfaction, and now published for an help to human conduct.

"The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it; for, though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.

"He has now had some time he could call his own, a property he was never so much master of before, in which he has taken a view of himself and the world, and observed wherein he has hit or missed the mark; what might have been done; what mended and what avoided in human conduct; together with the omissions and excesses of others, as well societies and governments as private families and persons. And he verily thinks, were he to

live over his life again, he could not only with God's grace serve him, but his neighbour and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet perhaps he hath not been the worst or the idlest man in the world, nor is he the oldest. And this is the rather said, that it might quicken thee, Reader, to lose none of the time that is yet thine.

"There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of time, and about which we ought to be more solicitous, since without it we can do nothing in the world. Time is what we want most, but what, alas, we use worst, and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us when time shall be no more! It is of that moment to us in reference to both worlds, that I can hardly wish any man better than that he would seriously consider what he does with his time; how and to what ends he employs it; and what returns he makes to God, his neighbour, and himself, for it. Will he never have a ledger for this? for this, the greatest wisdom and work of life? To come but once into the world, and trifle away our true enjoyment of it, and of ourselves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one reflection would yield a thinking person great instruction; and, since nothing below man can so think, man, in being thoughtless, must needs fall below himself; and that, to be sure, such do as are unconcerned in the use of their most precious time. This is but too evident, if we will allow ourselves to consider that there is hardly any thing we take by the

right end, or improve to its just advantage. We understand little of the works of God either in nature or grace. We pursue false knowledge, and mistake education extremely. We are violent in our affections, and confused and immethodical in our whole life, making that a burthen which was given as a blessing, and so of little comfort to ourselves or others, misapprehending the true notion of happiness, and so missing of the right use of life and way of happy living: and till we are persuaded to stop, and step a little aside out of the noisy crowd and incumbering hurry of the world, and calmly take a prospect of things, it will be impossible we should be able to make a right judgment of ourselves, or know our own misery. But after we have made the just reckonings, which retirement will help us to, we shall begin to think the world in great measure mad, and that we have been in a sort of Bedlam all this while. Reader! whether young or old, think it not too soon or too late to turn over the leaves of thy past life, and be sure to fold down where any passage of it may affect thee; and bestow the remainder of thy time to correct those faults in thy future conduct! Be it in relation to this or the next life, what thou wouldst do, if what thou hast done were to do again, be sure to do as long as thou livest upon the like occasions. Our resolutions seem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our past errors; but, alas, they are apt to grow flat again upon fresh temptations to the same things! The Author does not pretend to deliver thee an exact

piece, his business not being ostentation, but charity. It is miscellaneous in the matter of it, and by no means artificial in the composure. But it contains hints that may serve thee for texts to preach to thyself upon, and which comprehend much of the course of human life; since, whether thou art parent or child, prince or subject, master or servant, single or married, public or private, mean or honourable, rich or poor, prosperous or unprosperous, in peace or controversy, in business or solitude, whatever be thy inclination or aversion, practice or duty, thou wilt find something not unsuitably said for thy direction and advantage. Accept and improve what deserves thy notice. The rest excuse, and place to account of good-will to thee and the whole creation of God."

This was the Preface. With respect to the Book itself, I am sorry I have no room for extracts from it. I must therefore satisfy myself with laying before the reader the bare topics on which he gave his Reflections and Maxims, as they related to human life. They stand in the work in the following order: Ignorance — Education — Pride — Luxury — Inconsideration — Disappointments and Resignation — Murmurings — Censoriousness — Bounds of Charity — Frugality and Bounty — Discipline — Industry — Temperance — Apparel — Right Marriage — Avarice — Friendship — Qualities of a Friend — Caution and Conduct — Reparation — Rules of Conversation — Eloquence — Temper — Truth — Justice — Secrecy — Complacency — Shifting — Interest — Inquiry —

Right Timing—Knowledge—Wit—Obedience to Parents—Bearing—Promising—Fidelity—Office of Master—of Servant—Jealousy—Posterity—a Country Life—Art and Project—Temporal Happiness—Respect—Hazard—Detraction—Moderation—Trick—Passion—Personal Caution—Balance—Popularity—Privacy—Government—A private Life—A public Life—Qualifications—Capacity—Clean Hands—Dispatch—Patience—Impartiality—Indifferency—Neutrality—A Party—Ostentation—Complete Virtue—Religion.

Among the other subjects which occupied his attention, at this time, was that of War. He was deeply affected by the miseries it occasioned; so that, on a renewed contemplation of these, he found his mind turned as it were to the consideration how an evil so monstrous might be prevented. A plan for this purpose gradually unfolded itself, built upon a hint suggested by another, which he communicated in a work (the next fruit of his solitude) called "An Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe," a short analysis of which I feel it a duty to present to the reader.

In the four first sections he laid it down, that Peace was a thing most desirable; that Peace was promoted more *by Justice* than *by War;* and that Justice was as much the natural and expected result of Government, as Government itself was the natural and expected result of Society. He then proposed his Plan for the great object contained in the title of his Essay. He was of opinion, that as Go-

vernments held their Parliaments, Sessions, and Assizes, at home, to over-rule man's passions and resentments, so that they who had been injured by these might obtain justice at home; so he saw no reason why Princes might not, by a mutual concurrence, establish Assemblies or Diets abroad, to overrule the same bad affections, with a view of obtaining justice in their disputes with one another. He suggested therefore the idea of a great Diet on the Continent for this purpose; that is, that the Princes of Europe would, for the same reason which first occasioned men to enter into society, namely, Love of Peace and Order, establish one sovereign Assembly, before which all differences between them should be brought which could not be terminated by embassies, and the judgment of which should be so binding, that, if any one Government offering its case for decision did not abide by it, the rest should compel it. Such a Diet might have one session in the year, or one in two or three years, or as often as occasion might require.

He observed in the fifth section, that Peace was usually broken upon three principles: namely, either to keep, or to recover, or to add. As to the principle of addition or aggrandizement, this the Diet would immediately quash. As to the two former, it would settle them by a cool and judicious discussion.

In the sixth section he referred to the Titles upon which differences might arise among States. Title, he said, was either by long and undoubted

succession, as in England, France, and other parts; or by election, as in Poland and in the Empire; or by marriage, as when the family of the Stuarts came to England; or by purchase, as was frequently the case in Italy and Germany; or by conquest, as by the Turks in Christendom. Now the last title only was questionable; and the Diet would decide this by determining, as a general rule, how far back Titles should go to make an adopted right.

He suggested in the seventh section, that every independent Country should send Delegates to this Diet according to its population, revenue, and other public marks. If Germany were to send twelve, France ten, and others in their due proportion, the whole Diet for Europe need not consist of more than ninety persons.

To avoid quarrels about Precedency, he proposed in the eighth section, that the Delegates should preside by turns, or, in the good old Venetian way, by secret ballot. All complaints should be delivered in writing, in the nature of Memorials. They should be written in the Latin or French language. Nothing should pass but by the concurrence of three-fourths of the Delegates. Journals should be kept of the Proceedings in trunks, which should have as many different locks as there were sets of Delegates.

In the ninth section he anticipated and answered objections to his Plan. In the tenth he showed the advantages of it. And in the eleventh he drew his conclusion. Here he stated, that it was the inten-

tion of Henry the Fourth of France to have obliged the Princes of Europe to some such balance as this, had he not been taken off by the hand of Ravilliac. "His example," says he, "tells us that *this is fit to to be done;* Sir William Temple's History of the United Provinces shows us, by a surpassing instance, that *it may be done;* and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, that *it ought to be done.* My share is only in thinking of it at this juncture, and putting it into the common light, for the peace and prosperity of Europe."

Among the private letters which he wrote at this time, one has fallen into my hands, which, as it shows the warmth of feeling with which he pursued his friendships, and the pious state in which his mind was almost constantly preserved, I have thought it proper to copy. It was dated London, the eleventh of September, and addressed to Nathaniel Blandford, at Stratford, and ran thus:

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I was surprised last night, when I was told of thy great illness, and weakness, and desire to see me. Surely had I ever heard it I should have broken through* all my exercises to have seen

* It appears from this sentence, that, though he was an exile in lodgings in London, he had not formed the resolution of never stirring out of doors; for he would have visited his friend Blandford, had he known of his indisposition before. It is to be presumed, therefore, that he went from home whenever other fit occasions presented themselves. I mention this merely as a mark

thee; and I cannot express my trouble that my landlord should not have told it me, though ordered by Jos. B. seventh day week; and truly I wonder Joseph never hinted it himself. I now dispatch my kinsman this morning to hear of the state of thy health, desiring of the Lord his merciful loving-kindness towards thee and thine in thy preservation. And I pray God sanctify this visitation to thee on thy better part's account, that Truth in the inward parts may get ground, and the testimony and cross of Jesus may prevail to thy prosperity every way. I have been thinking to see you sometimes; then interrupted by sorrowful occasions; then of writing to thy dear wife, whom I love and esteem above most I know, and with my letter of sending her a few books: but I know not how I have been prevented. The all-wise God give us faith to believe all shall work together for the best! So, with our true love and concern for thee and thine, I rest thy most assured Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"My poor friend (his wife), we hope, is in a mending way, though slowly. She is very weak."

In about two months after the writing of this letter he was released from his exile by the interpo-

of the consciousness of his own innocence, because his person had been so noticed, and had become so familiar to people in London, that the Government might have easily apprehended him, when on these excursions, had it been so inclined.

sition of his friends. Certain persons of rank and influence, who had intimately known and admired his character, thought it was time to interest themselves in his behalf. They considered it as a dishonour to the Government, that a man who had lived such an exemplary life, and who had been so distinguished for his talents, disinterestedness, generosity, and public spirit, should be buried in an ignoble obscurity, and prevented from rising to future eminence in usefulness, in consequence of the attack of an unprincipled wretch, whom the Parliament had publicly stigmatized as a cheat and impostor, or of the mere suspicion of having incurred the charge that had followed it. There was nothing, they conceived, in his conduct, as far as it had been investigated, which could lead impartial persons to suppose that he was in any degree guilty of any of the charges which had been exhibited against him. Three of these he had met by a personal appearance both before the King and Council, and in the Courts of Law, and he had been honourably acquitted. Dr. Tillotson, Mr. Popple, Mr. Locke, and many persons distinguished for their character and attainments, yet held him in esteem. The Government itself had thought his case hard; for it had never followed up the accusation of Fuller even by encouraging the first Warrant, or the Proclamation, by any active search for his person. In all parts of the kingdom were those whom he had benefited by his private liberality. In America he had sacrificed a princely fortune for a

public good. All his actions, however mistaken he might be in the opinion of some, were so consistent with each other as to afford a demonstration that they proceeded from fixed principles, and these of the purest kind. These considerations began to operate upon many, and particularly upon the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lords Somers, Ranelagh, Rochester, and Sidney. The three last went in a body to King William. "They represented his case to His Majesty not only as hard, but as oppressive. There was nothing," they said, "against him but what impostors or such as had fled their country had advanced; or such as, when they had been pardoned for their crimes, they had refused to verify. They themselves," they added, "had long known him (William Penn), some of them thirty years, and they had never known him do an ill thing, but many good offices, and that if it had not been for being thought to go abroad in defiance of the Government he would have done it two years ago; but that he chose to wait to go about his business, as before, with leave, that he might be the better respected in the liberty he took to follow it."

King William answered, that "William Penn was his old acquaintance as well as theirs, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever, for that he had nothing to say against him." Upon this they pressed His Majesty to command one of them to declare this his gracious intention to Sir John Trenchard, who was then principal Secretary of State. To this the King consented; and as the

Lord Sidney was one of the most intimate acquaintances William Penn had, he was selected for the purpose. The Secretary of State, upon receiving the intelligence from the Lord Sidney, was much pleased; for William Penn, he said, had done him signal service after the Duke of Monmouth's and Lord Russel's business. Soon after this orders came to him from the King himself. In consequence of this he, Sir John, appointed William Penn a time to meet him. An interview took place on the thirteenth of November, when Sir John, in the presence of the Marquis of Winchester, told him "he was as free as ever;" adding, that "as he doubted not his prudence about his quiet living, so he assured him he should not be molested or injured in any of his affairs, at least while he held that post." It appears, however, as if William Penn had not been satisfied with the manner of his release; for a Council was afterwards held, where, the King and many Lords being present, he was heard in his own defence, and where he so pleaded his innocency that he was acquitted.

At this time the case of his wife had become hopeless. It was, however, a great gratification to him to think, that, before her spirit fled to other mansions, she knew of his honourable restoration to society. To her his acquittal must have given indescribable pleasure. The news of it must have been as balm to the wounds of sickness. Suffice it to say, that in about a month after this event she died.

It cannot be expected, from the very nature of society, that the wives of individuals should go down to posterity with an illustrious name, except they have distinguished themselves in a public manner. Those females, who fulfil their domestic duties even in the most exemplary manner, are seldom recorded but in the breasts of their own families. Men are looked upon as the great movers in life; and these find a place in biographical history, when their wives, who have perhaps exhibited far more brilliant characters, have gone in silence to the grave: and yet a few words, taken from records, may be said in behalf of Gulielma Maria Penn. Thomas Ellwood, a Quaker, relates, in the History of his own Life, an anecdote, which shows the estimation in which she was held, at least in one of the places where she had lived. The reader has already been informed, that William Penn soon after his marriage resided at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, but that he removed afterward to Worminghurst in Sussex. I may now mention, that Thomas Ellwood had been summoned (this was in the year 1683) by Sir Benjamin Titchborn and Thomas Fotherly, two Justices of the Peace, the one then living in and the other near Rickmansworth, to appear before them on a certain day on account of the publication of his book called "A Caution to Constables." This summons they sent him, in order that they might commit him to prison till the next assize, and this at the special instigation of the Earl of Bridgewater, one of the King's Cabinet Council.

Just at this time Thomas Ellwood was suddenly sent for express by Madam Penn (as she was called), who then lay dangerously ill at Worminghurst, and whose husband was then, it may be recollected, in America. To have gone immediately to her, would have been to prevent his appearance before the Justices at the time fixed upon; and to have appeared before them at the time fixed upon, would have made it impossible for him to visit Madam Penn. In this dilemma he went to the Justices, to explain to them how he was situated, and to beg a respite of appearance. They received him with all the marks of anger: but when he told them the occasion of his coming, as now related, their countenances began to soften. Not only Justice Fotherly, but Sir Benjamin Titchborn and his lady, who happened to be present (though great enemies to the Quakers), expressed deep feelings of regret at the illness of Madam Penn; and all united in expressing their admiration of her virtues and her worth while she lived in their neighbourhood. Willing to oblige such an estimable person, they not only granted Thomas Ellwood his request, though at a time when they were rigorously enforcing the Conventicle Act; but for her sake never troubled him more on the same subject.

But the great testimony concerning her was from her husband. He wrote "An Account of the blessed End of his dear Wife, Guilelma Maria Penn," to which he fixed as a motto, "The Memory of the Just is blessed." The account consist-

ed in part of certain "weighty expressions, which she uttered upon divers occasions, both before and near her end, and which he took down for his own and his dear children's consolation." I select the following passages from it:

"At one of the many meetings," says William Penn, "held in her chamber, we and our children and one of our servants being only present; in a tendering and living power she broke out as she sat in her chair, 'Let us all prepare, not knowing what hour or watch the Lord cometh. O, I am full of matter! Shall we receive good, and shall we not receive evil things at the hands of the Lord? I have cast my care upon the Lord. He is the physician of value. My expectation is wholly from him. He can raise up, and he can cast down.'"——

"To a Friend aged sixty-five, that came to see her, she said, 'How much older (she was herself then fifty) has the Lord made me by this weakness than thou art! But I am contented. I do not murmur. I submit to his holy will.'"——

"She did at several times pray very sweetly, and in all her weakness manifested the most equal, undaunted, and resigned spirit, as well as in all other respects. She was an excelling person both as wife, child, mother, mistress, friend, and neighbour."

"She called the children one day, when weak, and said, 'Be not frightened, children. I do not call you to take my leave of you, but to see you; and I would have you walk in the fear of the Lord,

and with his People, in his holy Truth,' or to that effect."

"About three hours before her end, a relation taking leave of her, she said, 'I have cast my care upon the Lord; my dear love to all Friends;' and, lifting up her dying hands and eyes, prayed the Lord to preserve and bless them."

"About an hour after, causing all to withdraw, we were half an hour together, in which we took our last leave, saying all that was fit upon that solemn occasion. She continued sensible, and did eat something about an hour before her departure, at which time our children and most of my family were present. She quietly expired in my arms, her head upon my bosom, with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say she was a public as well as private loss; for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity, and greater modesty and humility; yet most equal, and undaunted in danger; religious, as well as ingenuous, without affectation; an easy mistress, and good neighbour, especially to the poor; neither lavish nor penurious; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues: therefore our great loss, though her own eternal gain."

It will be proper now to see how the Province and Territories went on during this period. Colonel Fletcher, who had received his Commission, left New York for Philadelphia to take upon him

the Government of these. He took with him a few soldiers in his retinue, a sight never before witnessed in the latter city. On his arrival he summoned the Assembly; but a dispute arose directly between him and the Council, because he had not summoned it in the old legal way, which, on account of the firmness of the latter, it took some time to adjust.

The Assembly having been at length legally brought together, oaths and tests were presented to the members in the manner of other Governments under the immediate administration of the Crown. But here a new difficulty arose; for, most of them being Quakers, they refused to be sworn. To obviate this, the Governor proposed to them to subscribe to the Declarations and Professions mentioned in the Act for liberty of conscience in the first year of William and Mary; but he declared to them at the same time, that his proposal was entirely an act of favour on his part, and that it was not to be drawn into precedent as a matter of right in future.

This declaration of the Governor disconcerted them again. They had no conception, either that William Penn or that they themselves had forfeited those privileges which were in the Compact of the Settlement. They determined, however, in order that the public business might go on, to sacrifice their feelings for once, and to acknowledge his acceptance of their subscription to the Declaration and Professions before mentioned, as an act of indulgence for the time.

As soon as the members had become thus qualified for the exercise of their functions, the Governor communicated to them a letter, by way of message from the Queen, stating, that as the expense for the protection of Albany against the French had become intolerably burthensome to its inhabitants, and as Albany was a frontier, by means of which several other colonies were defended, it was but reasonable that such colonies should assist the Government of New York from time to time in the preservation of it during the war.

The Assembly, after having deliberated upon the Message, resolved upon an humble Address to the Governor, in which they seemed desirous of putting off the consideration of the subject contained in it, respectfully beseeching him that their procedure in legislation might be according to the usual method and laws of the Government of Pennsylvania, founded upon the late King's letters patent, which they humbly conceived were yet in force. To this Address he replied, but in a manner so displeasing (for he threatened to annex them to the Government of New York), that they sent him a public Remonstrance through the medium of their Speaker. They said, among other things, that one of the reasons alleged for the superseding of William Penn was his adhering too much to James the Second, but that he had never been found guilty of the charge. Another was, that the administration of justice had been impeded by the quarrels between the Territories and the Province.

This charge was equally unfounded. For the Courts of Justice were open in all the counties belonging to the Government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder to the lowest differences about property, before the date of his (the Governor's) Commission. Neither did they apprehend that the Province was in danger of being lost to the Crown, although the Government was in the hands of some whose principles were not for war. They conceived that his (the Governor's) administration, though it suspended that of William Penn, was not to be at variance with the fundamental principles of the latter. They acknowledged him (Fletcher) undoubtedly as their then lawful Governor; but they reserved to themselves, and to those whom they represented, the continuance of their just privileges and rights.

After this the Assembly enacted several laws. These were sent up to the Governor and Council. They were detained, however, by the former unconstitutionally in point of time, to see whether the Assembly would vote a pecuniary supply according to the tenour of the Queen's letter. This unseasonable delay, together with other circumstances, offended the Assembly again; so that they unanimously resolved, "that all Bills sent to the Governor and Council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this House to have their further approbation upon such amendments, before they could have their final assent to pass into laws." In

consequence of this, the Governor returned some of them, with his objections, for amendment. These the assembly passed; after which they voted a supply, consisting of one penny in the pound on all real and personal estates for one year, and six shillings per poll for one year upon individuals who had come out of servitude, or were not worth one hundred pounds; which, when collected in the six counties, would amount to seven hundred and sixty pounds sixteen shillings and twopence.

The Governor, having obtained his supply, confirmed all the Bills which had been passed. He then dissolved the Assembly at their own request; and having appointed William Markham his Deputy Governor, he returned to his station at New York.

It must be obvious from this statement, that there was no great cordiality between Governor Fletcher and the Council and Assembly during his residence among them. The former, following the practice he had been accustomed to in the administration of the Government of New York, which differed from that of Pennsylvania, was led into a false step at the very first by convening the Assembly in an illegal manner. This produced suspicion and jealousy among the latter. This suspicion and this jealousy he awakened again, perhaps from his own ignorance of Quaker principles, by his attempt to introduce the oath among them as a qualification for legislation. But, while they were in this unsettled state, he proposed to them the Queen's letter, by which

they were to vote a pecuniary supply towards the defence of Albany. Here, being equally principled against war as against oaths, their feelings received another shock. They began now to be seriously alarmed. They had left their homes and crossed the Atlantic to get rid of what they considered to be the barbarous and corrupt customs of the Old World, and to start as a people upon a new system. But they found themselves grievously disappointed. Oaths, war, and taxation were now at hand. They thought they saw armies marching and countermarching among what they had expected to be peaceable habitations. They thought they saw the Indians engaged in a contest, those very people whom it was the object of William Penn to bring from ferocious habits to the blessings of civilized life. With respect to the tax, as it was a fundamental of their religion always to obey the existing Government, except where their consciences suffered, they consented to it; but they stipulated in the Bill, that one half of the money raised should go to the maintenance of the Governor, and the other half as their own free present to the Crown. Such was the state of their minds, when Governor Fletcher left them, upon a view of which they could not help contrasting his Government with that of William Penn. This served only to confirm their prejudices against the former, and to elevate the character of the latter. Nor could this view of the matter operate otherwise than as a painful reproach

upon themselves; for in a few months after Fletcher, a mere stranger, had arrived, they granted him a provision, and they made the Crown a present; while for years, even to this very time, they had not furnished a table for William Penn.

CHAPTER VII.

A. 1694—*writes* "*An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers*"—*general contents of this work—also* "*A Visitation to the Jews*"—*extracts from thence—publishes his* "*Journey into Holland and Germany as performed in* 1677"—*is restored to his Government by King William—handsome manner of wording the royal order for this purpose—travels in the ministry—letter to John Gratton—affairs of Pennsylvania—death and character of Thomas Lloyd.*

WILLIAM PENN, having been honourably acquitted, was now at liberty to follow his inclinations where he pleased. His thoughts were naturally directed towards Pennsylvania. But, alas, his new situation among other things prevented him, at least for the present, from going there! He had just lost his wife. His children were without a mother. He felt it therefore his duty to stay at home for a while, that he might comfort and instruct his family; that he might act the part of a double parent; and that he might make those arrangements, which the late melancholy event had rendered necessary in his domestic concerns.

Being tied down as it were to the house on this account, his mind fell into employment, the result of which was the production of a book, which, how-

ever, he intended only as a Preface to the Writings of George Fox. It contained "An Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in which their fundamental Principles, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Discipline, were plainly declared."

He gave in the first chapter of this work a history of the different dispensations of God to the time of George Fox, or to the first appearance of the Quakers.

He explained in the second their great Principle; the opposition it had met with; its progress notwithstanding; and the great comfort it administered wherever it had been received; how out of it three great and fundamental doctrines sprung, which their preachers taught; namely, repentance from dead works to serve the living God, perfection from sin as included in the notion of regeneration or a new birth, and an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments; how from these, as the greater, other doctrines sprung, which influenced their practice, such as the love of one another; the love of their enemies; their refusal to confirm their testimony by an oath, and to fight or engage in wars, and to pay ministers for preaching the Gospel of Christ, and to show respect to persons by flattering titles or compliments of respect; their adoption of plainness and simplicity in their language, their abstinence from all unnecessary words, and their rejection of the heathen custom of drinking healths to people. He concluded with a description of their

simple way of marriage, and of the manner of registering their births and conducting their funerals, all of which were opposite to the pomps and vanities of the world.

He explained in the third chapter what were the qualifications of their ministers, and the marks by which they might be known to be Christian.

In the fourth chapter he explained the object and the manner of conducting their discipline. Its object was to supply the necessities of the poor; to take care that they who were members answered their high profession, not only by living peaceably, but by showing in all things a good example; to inquire previously as to marriages, whether the parties to be concerned in them were clear of all marriage-promises or engagements to others; to register births and funerals; and to record the services and sufferings of those deceased members who had acted as faithful servants. The way of conducting it he described to be by Elders, and by monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, at which persons were deputed to attend for their respective districts. All members, however, whether deputed or not, might be present at these, and deliver their minds upon the points before them. At these meetings there was no visible head, no chairman, or chief manager; but they considered Christ as their President, who would always be in the midst of those who met together in his name. He then described the principle and authority upon which they proceeded against those who had transgressed, the

manner of such proceeding, and how the way was left open to them (on repentance) of restoration to membership.

The fifth chapter contained a history of the life of the founder. He drew therein a beautiful and interesting picture of his birth, parentage, early disposition, habits, qualifications, character, troubles, sufferings, and of his death and final triumph.

The sixth contained general exhortations, not only to the members of the Society, but to those who were yet strangers to the Quakers as a people. These exhortations were varied so as to suit the ages, conditions, and states of those to whom they were severally addressed.

William Penn spent a part of his retirement with his family in reading. Among the books which interested him at this time was one written by John Tomkins. It had the following title: "The Harmony of the Old and New Testament, and the fulfilling of the Prophets concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and his Kingdom in the latter Days; with a brief Concordance of the Names and Attributes given to Christ, and some Texts of Scripture collected concerning Christ's Humiliation and Sufferings, also his excellent Dignity and Glorification." In consequence of the perusal of this book he felt his mind drawn towards those unhappy people, who, ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, have been wandering about, carrying the marks of prophecy with them wherever they have gone. He wrote, therefore, by way of Appendix to it, a

small pamphlet, which he called "A Visitation to the Jews." It consisted of a tender and compassionate address to the seed of Abraham and house of Israel after the flesh, wherever scattered over the face of the earth, with an earnest desire that the time of their captivity might come to an end, and that they, who were the natural branches broken off through unbelief, might come again to be ingrafted by faith and through the circumcision made without hands, so that the hope of the promise made to their fathers might be manifested among them. In this address he attempted to show them how ill founded those objections were which stood in the way of their conversion to the Christian religion. I select the following passage as a specimen of the manner of his argument on this occasion:

"But if," says he to the Jews, "you have no reason to deny the New Testament-writings any more than we have to deny the authority of the Old, in which you so firmly believe, it is as reasonable in us to expect you should receive the authority of the New, as that we should embrace the authority of the Old. For what have you to justify the truth of those writings, but the impossibility of so many people consenting to delude themselves, and being able to impose upon their posterity a fiction about the great and important matters of immortality? For the miracles recorded in the Old Testament-scriptures are as much above reason, and consequently as incredible to worldly men, as the miracles recorded in the New Testament-scriptures; so

that the authority you have for the Old Testament-writings is the truth and credibility of their tradition. This, we say, we also have for ours. How could so many men, whom you have not taxed with ill lives or atheistical principles, agree together to put so great an imposture upon the world, as the penmen of the New Testament-writings must needs have done, if what they write were fictions? You cannot deny that there was such a man as Jesus, and that he was put to death by your fathers, though pretended to be a malefactor, and that he had followers, and that those followers asserted and maintained the doctrine of their Master. Where is there any confutation of what is affirmed of the deeds and doctrines of Jesus by his writers in the whole body of your antiquity, that he wrought none of the miracles said to be wrought by him?"

A third work, which he brought out at this time, was an Account of his Travels through Holland and Germany in the year 1677. Of this I shall say nothing, having made large extracts from it when I gave an account of his proceedings for that year.

While he had been employed in this manner, two events had taken place, which it will be now proper, and indeed very pleasing, to relate. The first of these was a complete reconciliation with his own religious Society. How this was effected is not known. Certain however it is, that it was brought

to pass, and this early in the present year, and that after this he enjoyed a greater portion than ever of the friendship and esteem of its members. The second was *his restoration to the Government of Pennsylvania.* It has been said by some, that the Quakers were now so warmly attached to him, that they had been the means, by uncommon exertions, of procuring for him this mark of the royal favour. But the assertion is not true. William Penn, soon after his last honourable discharge by the King and Council, had sent a petition to the former for this very purpose, which stood upon its own merits. King William, having received it, took it into consideration; and the result was, that it was thought but just and reasonable to comply with his request. Accordingly an instrument was made out by the Royal order, and dated and signed on the twentieth of August, by which he was restored to his Government; and the way in which this instrument was worded was particularly creditable to William Penn, for it was declared therein, *that the disorder and confusion* into which the Province and Territories had fallen (which had been the pretence for dispossessing him) *had been occasioned entirely by his absence from them.* I may add to this, that he began to recover in the estimation of his countrymen at large: for it was generally known that Fuller was then living in disgrace, that is, in the disgrace which the Resolution of Parliament and the punishment of the pillory had brought upon him;

whereas he, William Penn, after having passed through four fiery ordeals, had come out of them only to re-ascend to honour.

Having arranged his domestic concerns, and obtained his former rank and character in society, he determined to visit the west of England in his capacity as a minister of the Gospel. He travelled, as we find in the folio volume of his Life, "in the counties of Glocester, Somerset, Devon, and Dorset, having meetings almost daily in the most considerable towns and other places in those counties, to which the people flocked abundantly; and his testimony to the Truth, answering to that of God in their consciences, was assented to by many." This is all we can collect of his journey from this quarter. We have, however, a more particular account of his proceedings for a few days, though a very short one, from John Whiting. The latter in his Memoirs writes thus: "This year in the ninth month William Penn came down to Bristol, and to Chew, and had a great meeting at Clareham, and came to my house at Wrington that night with several other Friends. And next day we went with him on board the Bengal ship in Kingroad to dinner; and afterwards by Westbury to Bristol on seventh day night, where on first day were very large meetings. And about two weeks after he went westward, and had large meetings in most of the great towns in our county, as also in Devonshire and Dorsetshire. I met him at Wells, and went with him to Somerton, where it was some time before we

could get a place large enough for the meeting, the Market-house, where the meeting began, though large, not being big enough to hold it; and at last we were glad to go out into the fields; and a great gathering there was. I met him again at Bridgewater, where he had a great meeting in the Town-hall, as he had in most places, which the Mayors generally consented to for the respect they had to him, few places else being sufficient to hold the meetings. On the twenty-seventh of tenth month he came again to Wrington, and had a large meeting in the Court-hall (where we then kept our meetings), where was a Justice of the Peace and his wife."

On his return from his journey he came to London, after which we have no further trace of him for the present year, except in a letter which he wrote from thence to John Gratton, who was an eminent minister of the Society, and who lived near Chesterfield in Derbyshire. This worthy man had suffered much by the spoliation of his goods on account of his religion. He was then a respectable tradesman, but stood high in the esteem of his neighbour, then Earl, but afterwards first Duke, of Devonshire. I present the following extracts from it to the reader:

"DEAR JOHN GRATTON,

"Thy dear and tender love I feel by thy kind lines, and they were to my comfort and refreshment. Thy name has been down in my pocket-book ever since I came to this city, to write to thee as one of

my dear and choice friends, that lies and lives near me, with whom is my dear, near, and inward fellowship; and that thou art low and poor, and as self-independent as ever, is a brave condition, and thou canst not say better for thyself or the greatest worthy in the flock. O dear John, I desire to dwell there, while I live in this tabernacle. It is my prayer, and much of my ministry to God's people. Some are convinced, but not converted; and many, that are converted, do not persevere: wherefore their oil dries up; and Self, in Truth's form, gets up under specious pretences."——

"Through the Lord's great mercy and beyond my hopes I am yet tolerably well through hard service, which it has been my lot to be engaged in of late; in which the Lord has abundantly answered me, and tender-hearted Friends and sober people of all sorts."——

"As yet I have not seen my own home above these four months. I am a poor pilgrim on the earth, yet my hope is established for an abiding place in an unchangeable world."——

"Dear John, never trouble thyself with priests. Let them have our books. Take two or three gross things from theirs, confute them, and leave the rest. Methinks J. R. (Sir John Rhodes, who was Gratton's neighbour, and had become a Quaker) should exercise himself that way, which would whet him up to services suitable to his condition. My love to him and the Doctor, (Gilbert Heathcote, who had married Sir John Rhodes's sister:) I remember

them in my prayers to the Lord, that they may travel on to the end, and receive the crown of faithfulness. So, in the Lord's love, dearly farewell!

"Thy cordial Friend and loving Brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

We may now look at what passed in America during this period.

Colonel Fletcher, who had gone to New York for the winter, returned to Philadelphia in the spring. Having called the Assembly legally, he sent them a message, stating that he had received information "that the five nations of Indians, who had been so long faithful to the English, were now debauched to the French interest in Canada; that he was come to lay the whole affair before them, assuring them that their own Indians would be compelled to join the confederacy; that in consequence thereof he had seen fourscore fine farms all depopulated about Albany; that the Jerseys had done more for the common defence than all the other adjacent Provinces; that though he respected those scruples which led them to refuse to carry arms or to levy money for war, yet he hoped they would not refuse to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, which they might do by supplying the Indian nations with such necessaries as might influence a continuation of their friendship to these Provinces; and, lastly, that he was ready, as far as in him lay consistently with the rules of loyalty and a just regard to liberty and

property, to redress their grievances, if they had any."

This message displeased the Assembly. It served only to recall their former fears. They considered it as a demand for more of the public money, but in a new shape. They determined therefore to resist it, and accordingly they refused the Governor the supply. Several laws, however, were passed between this and the subsequent session, which was the last under Colonel Fletcher; for, having received the official letters which superseded him, in consequence of the restoration of the Government to William Penn, he took his final leave of them, and returned to his own Province.

About this time died Thomas Lloyd, whom I have had occasion so often to mention in these Memoirs. He died at the early age of fifty-four, greatly lamented by all who knew him. He was the younger son of a very ancient family, which possessed the estate of Dolobran in Montgomeryshire. He had received a learned education at Oxford, but afterwards on conviction joined the Society of the Quakers. Dr. William Lloyd, the learned and liberal-minded Bishop of St. Asaph, in whose diocese he lived, and who was afterwards translated in succession to the sees of Litchfield and Coventry, and Worcester, inquired, according to his custom, both of him and his brother Charles, when they separated from the Church, their reasons for so doing. They consented to give them in public, but in no other way. Accordingly a religious conference took

place at Welchpool, which lasted from two in the afternoon till two in the morning. It was then adjourned to Llanvilling, to the Town-hall, where it lasted two days. It was not a conference of disputation, for the Bishop confined himself principally to the proposing of questions and to the hearing of answers. On the last day he forced Thomas Lloyd into no less than twenty-eight syllogisms *extempore*, which were put down in writing as they were delivered, on the subjects of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Thomas Lloyd acquitted himself so well on this occasion, that the Bishop greatly commended his learning. After this he went over to America, and filled, as we have seen, the office both of President of the Council and of Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, and these with great ability and integrity. These posts, however, he disliked, greatly preferring a private life: but he filled them from a belief, which others at length persuaded him to entertain, that he would be doing good by accepting them. On his death-bed, after an illness of only six days, he took leave of those who were near him in the following calm manner: "I die in unity and love with all faithful Friends. I have fought a good fight. I have kept the faith, which stands not in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God. I have sought, not for strife and contention, but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the simplicity of the Gospel. I lay down my head in peace, and desire you may all do so. Farewell."

Colonel Fletcher having returned to New York, and Thomas Lloyd being dead, the Deputy Government of the Province and Territories was conferred upon William Markham; for William Penn, on hearing of these events, sent him a Commission for that purpose.

CHAPTER VIII.

A. 1695—*writes* "*A Reply to a pretended Answer to William Penn's Key*"—*delivers a paper to the House of Commons on the subject of making the Quakers' affirmation equal to their oath—travels in the ministry—is present at a religious dispute at Melksham—preaches at Wells—some curious particulars during his stay there—affairs of Pennsylvania.*

William Penn employed himself in the beginning of the present year in answering a pamphlet which had been written against one of his own works that had appeared in 1692. This production he called "A Reply to a pretended Answer by a nameless Author to William Penn's Key." I shall attempt no analysis of it, because its general contents may be imagined by referring to those of "the Key," which I have already laid before the reader. There is one passage, however, in it, which I shall transcribe. His opponent had charged him with prevarication in the late reign, and with having shown an intemperate zeal for a boundless liberty of conscience. To the charge he replied thus: "And if it be possible or worth while to reconcile him (my opponent) better to my conduct, let him peruse my "Great Case of Liberty of Conscience," printed in 1671, and my "Letter to the States of Emb-

den," 1672, and my "Present State of England," 1675, and he will find I was the same man then, and acted by the same principles; not more intemperate in the reign than favoured it, than in the reign I contended with (the preceding) that did not favour it. And no man *but a Persecutor, which I count a beast of prey, and a declared enemy to mankind*, can without great injustice or ingratitude reproach that part I had in King James's Court: for I think I may say without vanity, upon this provocation, I endeavoured at least to do some good at my own cost, and would have done more. I am very sure I intended, and I think I did, harm to none, neither parties nor private persons, my own family excepted; for which I doubt not this author's pardon, since he shows himself so little concerned for the master of it."

About this time the Quakers petitioned Parliament for an Act to make their affirmation equal to their oath. William Penn was appointed to act for them on this occasion. This he did by appearing at the House of Commons, and by delivering there the following paper:

"That the request of the people called Quakers may be indulged by the Members of this Honourable House, it is humbly proposed to them to consider the nature and fulness of the security they offer; and, if it be found to amount to the weight and value of an oath, it is hoped there will be no difficulty in accepting it in lieu of an oath.

"The pledge, that every man upon oath gives of his truth, is his soul. He means, that God should deal with him according to the truth of his affirmative or negative given by him in the name of God. Now to show that the said people do as much; that is, that they pledge their souls too in their way; that they mean the same caution with them that swear; and are under the same reverence in their simple and solemn aye or no; and therefore give the same security; I shall beg this Honourable House to consider three things.

"First, this people make it an article of their faith and practice, and a great part of their characteristic, not to swear at all. They think, whether mistaken or not, that the righteousness of Christianity does not need or use an oath; so that you have their religion in the highest exercises of it in human affairs for your security.

"Secondly, they have often and at very dear rates proved to the world they mean what they say, since they have frequently chosen to lose their estates, and lie and die in gaol, rather than save the one or deliver themselves from the other by deviating from their principle: and since, in such cases, integrity is the security all aim at, it is hard to conceive which way any man can give a greater: nor are they so insensible as not to know that untruth in them, after this great indulgence, is a more aggravated crime than perjury in others, since they excuse themselves from not swearing by a profession of an exacter simplicity and greater strictness.

"Lastly, they humbly hope that, being to suffer for untruth as for perjury, their request will not be uneasy, since they subject their integrity to trial upon the hazard of a conviction that is so much greater than the offence in the eye of the law would bear. Let them then, we pray, speak in their own way, and, if false, be punished in yours. And since this Honourable House has testified an excelling zeal to secure the rights and privileges of that great body they represent, these inferior members, with all due respect, claiming a relation to it, request that they may not be left exposed in theirs, but that by your wisdom and goodness they may be provided for in true proportion to the exigencies they are under; which will engage them in the best wishes for your prosperities."

Soon after this he travelled as in the former year in the work of the ministry. We first trace him at a meeting at Henley upon Thames. From thence he passed into Wiltshire. While he was at Melksham, a dispute was held between John Plympton, a Baptist, and John Clark of Bradford on the part of the Quakers, in the court-yard belonging to Thomas Beaven's house. The Baptist had challenged the Quakers to a public conference on five subjects: the Universality of Grace, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Perfection, and the Resurrection. Clark is said to have answered the objections of Plympton notably: but Plympton would not allow it; and though the auditors were against him he continued to cavil on, and would not be silenced. At length

evening coming on William Penn rose up, and, to use the words of a spectator, "breaking like a thunder-storm over his head in testimony to the people," who were numerous, concluded the dispute.

From Melksham he proceeded to Warminster, and from thence to Wrington, at both which places he preached to crowded meetings.

The people of Wells being desirous of hearing him, he took an opportunity of going to that place. But here some arrangement was necessary; for the Bishop was then there, and some of the Magistrates were unfriendly. Accordingly John Whiting, accompanied by Robert Holder, went to the Bishop to solicit his permission to assemble the people for the occasion. The Bishop at this time was Richard Kidder, the author of that excellent work which appeared afterwards, "A Demonstration of the Messias." The Bishop asked Whiting, after the latter had opened his business to him, why he desired to have a meeting there, seeing there were no Quakers in the town. Whiting told him, To declare the Truth. He then asked what the Quakers had to preach more than they. Whiting replied, The Grace of God. The Bishop said, they preached the Grace of God also. Whiting replied, they might do so now and then, but not, he apprehended, as the Quakers did; that is, they did not direct their people to it as to that which bringeth salvation and hath appeared unto all men, and would teach them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to

live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. Soon after this the Bishop, who conducted himself with much good temper, left them to do as they pleased.

Finding no opposition from the Bishop, they applied for the Market-house, as the fittest place to hold the auditors. They were promised the use of it the next day; but when the time came they were forbidden to enter it; for some of the opposite party in the town, who had been drinking Colonel Berkley's election-ale the day before, had turned the clerk of the market against them. They resolved therefore, with the consent of the landlord, to make use of the Crown Inn, where they had put up, which had a large room and a balcony facing the Market-place. But finding, on looking over the late Act of Toleration, that it was necessary to have a certificate that they intended to hold a religious meeting there, they drew up the same, and the same persons went with it to the Bishop as before. He received them, as before, in a friendly manner. John Whiting informed him of what the Act required. The Bishop said he would look at the Act; and, if it really required, he would certainly send them, a certificate.

By this time the Market-house was full of people, who had broken into it; but John Whiting and others desired them to come out of it, and to place themselves before the balcony of the inn in the street. This they did to the number of between two and three thousand. The Quakers in the mean time

occupied the great room in the inn. After this arrangement William Penn came forward to the balcony and began to preach: but in the midst of his discourse a constable and other officers came with a warrant signed by Matthew Baron, Mayor, and William Salmon, Justice; and, breaking through the people, forced their way into the great room of the inn, and then into the balcony, and seized William Penn, whom they hurried away before the Magistrates. These, however, did not detain him long; for finding, upon examination, that the house had been certified by the Bishop, and that by disturbing a lawful assembly they had overshot their mark, they excused themselves as well as they could, and dismissed him; "having done just enough," says one of the old writers of his Life, "to manifest the keenness of their stomachs for the old work of devouring, in that they could not refrain from whetting their teeth again, after the Act of Toleration had blunted them." After this the Quakers hired a house at Wells, in which, having obtained a licence for it according to law, William Penn preached without further molestation, and in which several meetings were afterwards held by the same people.

William Penn, having staid his time at Wells, travelled to other places in the county, holding meetings for worship almost daily as he went along; when at length he proceeded to Bristol, a place where he had so frequently exercised his gift in the

same way. Here he remained some time. After this he went to London, and from thence made the best of his way to his family at Worminghurst in Sussex.

With respect to his American affairs but little occurs for mention in the present year. On the twenty-sixth of March, Markham as Deputy Governor issued a writ for the election of a new Provincial Council, consisting as before of three, and of a new Assembly consisting of six persons, for each County. The Council so elected met on the twentieth of April, and the Assembly on the tenth of September. At this assembly he renewed the application of Fletcher for more money on the ground of the Queen's letter. The Assembly took the subject into consideration, and voted an assessment, but specified the manner of its appropriation as before. To the Bill, however, which they passed for this purpose, they joined another, entitled A new Act of Settlement, by which the Council was to consist of only two Members instead of three, and the Assembly of only four instead of six, for each County, and by which certain fundamental liberties were to be confirmed to them. These Bills they presented to Markham for his sanction; but, instead of giving it, he dissolved both the Council and the Assembly in an abrupt manner, and to the surprise not only of the Members of both, but of the whole Province.

CHAPTER IX.

A. 1696—*marries a second time—loses his eldest son—writes an account of his sayings and behaviour during his sickness, and of his character—writes also "Primitive Christianity revived"—analysis of the work—also "More Work for G. Keith"—visits the Czar of Muscovy then in England—impression made upon the latter—affairs of Pennsylvania.*

WILLIAM PENN having obtained, according to the custom of the Quakers, a certificate from his own monthly meeting, which was then held at Horsham in Sussex, that he was clear from all other engagements, went down to Bristol in the beginning of the month of March to solemnize a second marriage. He had long felt an extraordinary esteem for Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and grand-daughter of Dennis Hollister, both eminent merchants of that city, and both of whom had joined the religious Society of the Quakers. It was with her that he entered into the union now mentioned.

But, alas, how short-lived frequently, and how uncertain always, are our prospects! How nearly dwell together our pleasures and our pains! But a few weeks after he had brought his new married wife home, he lost his eldest son. The latter,

indeed, had been for some time in a decline, and therefore this his untimely end had in all probability been expected. But he was a youth of high attainments and most amiable and engaging manners. He had been looked up to with great reason as a child of promise. He had passed his twentieth year. The expectation, therefore, of his decease, though it might have prepared his relatives for it, did not lessen the affliction of losing him. An event, which cut off so much genius and virtue in their bloom, though consolatory in looking towards a future life, must have involved his family in sorrow.

William Penn had attended his son regularly in his illness, saving the time he was absent on his marriage, for the last three months. He was his nurse and comforter. He received his head, when dying, in his own bosom, as he had done that of his mother, and witnessed his departing breath. And as of her he gave a memorial to the world, which embraced the interesting scenes of her last moments; so, with the like hallowed view, he did the same with respect to her son. This memorial, though it be of some length, I cannot withhold from the reader: for it shows, first, the pious way in which he trained up his children; and, secondly, the tender manner in which he effected it: because, while he always enforced his authority as a parent, it appears that he held an eminent place in their affections. It shows too the power of religion on the mind; how even youth itself may be made capable

of attaining the highest wisdom; how it may be brought, gay and inconsiderate as it is, to a state of patience and resignation under suffering; and even to look upon affliction, as a state which may be so sanctified as to be reckoned among our blessings. To the memorial he prefixed these words: "Sorrow and Joy in the Loss and End of Springett Penn."

"My very dear child," says he, "and eldest son, Springett Penn, did from his childhood manifest a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary capacity; and time satisfied me in both respects. For, besides a good share of learning and mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it much above his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, that made him beloved and consequently lamented; but especially his humility, plainness, and truth, with a tenderness and softness of nature, which, if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. But though these were no security against sickness and death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due preparation for them. And indeed the good ground that was in him showed itself very plainly some time before his illness. For more than half a year before it pleased the Lord to visit him with weakness, he grew more retired, and much disengaged from youthful delights, showing a remarkable tenderness in meetings, even when they were silent: but when he saw himself doubtful as to his re-

covery, he turned his mind and meditations more apparently towards the Lord, secretly, as also when his attendants were in the room, praying often with great fervency to him, and uttering very many thankful expressions and praises to him, in a very deep and sensible manner. One day he said to us, 'I am resigned to what God pleaseth. He knows what is best. I would live, if it pleased him, that I might serve him; but, O Lord, not my will, but thine be done!'

"A person speaking to him of the things of this world, and what might please him when recovered, he answered, 'My eye looks another way, where the truest pleasure is.' When he told me he had rested well, and I said it was a mercy to him, he quickly replied upon me with a serious yet sweet look, 'All is mercy, dear father; every thing is mercy.' Another time when I went to meeting, at parting he said, 'Remember me, my dear father, before the Lord. Though I cannot go to meetings, yet I have many good meetings. The Lord comes in upon my spirit. I have heavenly meetings with him by myself.'

"Not many days before he died, the Lord appearing by his holy power upon his spirit, when alone, at my return, asking him how he did, he told me, 'O, I have had a sweet time, a blessed time! great enjoyments! The power of the Lord overcame my soul: a sweet time indeed!'

"And telling him how some of the gentry, who had been to visit him, were gone to their games and

sports and pleasures, and how little consideration the children of men had of God and their latter end, and how much happier he was in this weakness to have been otherwise educated and preserved from those temptations to vanity, he answered, 'It is all stuff, my dear father: it is sad stuff. O that I might live tell them so!'——'Well, my dear child,' I replied, 'let this be the time of thy entering into secret covenant with God, that, if he raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy youth, strength, and life to him and his people and service.' He returned, 'Father, that is not now to do, it is not now to do,' with great tenderness upon his spirit.

"Being ever almost near him, and doing any thing for him he wanted or desired, he broke out with much sense and love, 'My dear father, if I live, I will make thee amends;' and speaking to him of divine enjoyments, that the eye of man saw not, but the soul made alive by the Spirit of Christ plainly felt, he, in a lively remembrance, cried out, 'O, I had a sweet time yesterday by myself! The Lord hath preserved me to this day. Blessed be his name! My soul praises him for his mercy. O father, it is of the goodness of the Lord that I am so well as I am.' Fixing his eyes upon his sister, he took her by the hand, saying, 'Poor Tishe, look to good things! Poor child, there is no comfort without it! One drop of the love of God is worth more than all the world. I know it. I have tasted it. I have felt as much or more of the love of God in this weakness than in all my life before.' At

another time as I stood by him he looked up upon me, and said, 'Dear father, sit by me! I love thy company, and I know thou lovest mine; and, if it be the Lord's will that we must part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.'

"Taking something one night in bed just before his going to rest, he sat up and fervently prayed thus: 'O Lord God! Thou, whose Son said to his disciples, Whatever ye ask in my name ye shall receive, I pray thee in his name bless this to me this night, and give me rest, if it be thy blessed will!' And accordingly he had a very comfortable night, of which he took a thankful notice before us next day.

"And when he at one time more than ordinarily expressed a desire to live, and entreated me to pray for him, he added, 'And, dear father, if the Lord should raise me, and enable me to serve him and his people, then I might travel with thee sometimes, and we might ease one another,' (meaning in the ministry). He spoke this with great modesty; upon which I said to him, 'My dear child, if it please the Lord to raise thee, I am satisfied it will be so; and if not, then, inasmuch as it is thy fervent desire in the Lord, he will look upon thee just as if thou didst live to serve him, and thy comfort will be the same. So either way it will be well: for, if thou shouldst not live, I do verily believe thou wilt have the recompense of thy good desires, without the temptations and troubles that would attend if long life were granted to thee.'

"Saying one day thus, 'I am resolved I will have such a thing done,' he immediately corrected himself, and fell into this reflection with much contrition, 'Did I say, I will? O Lord, forgive me that irreverent and hasty expression! I am a poor weak creature, and live by Thee, and therefore I should have said, If it pleaseth Thee that I live, I intend to do so. Lord, forgive my rash expression!'

"Seeing my present wife ready to be helpful and to do any thing for him, he turned to her and said, 'Do not thou do so. Let them do it. Don't trouble thyself so much for such a poor creature as I am.' And taking leave of him a few nights before his end, he said to her, 'Pray for me, dear mother! Thou art good and innocent. It may be the Lord may hear thy prayers for me; for I desire my strength again, that I may live and employ it more in his service.'

"Two or three days before his departure he called his brother to him, and, looking awfully upon him, said, 'Be a good boy, and know that there is a God, a great and mighty God, who is a rewarder of the righteous, and so he is of the wicked, but their rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle people and idle company, and love good company and good Friends, and the Lord will bless thee. I have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord: and if I should not live (though the Lord is all-sufficient), remember what I say to thee, when I am dead and

gone. Poor child, the Lord bless thee! Come and kiss me!' which melted us all into great tenderness, but his brother more particularly.

"Many good exhortations he gave to some of the servants and others that came to see him, who were not of our communion, as well as to those who were, which drew tears from their eyes.

"The day but one before he died he went to take the air in a coach, but said at his return, 'Really, father, I am exceeding weak. Thou canst not think how weak I am.'——'My dear child,' I replied, 'thou art weak, but God is strong, who is the strength of thy life.'——'Aye, that is it,' said he, 'which upholdeth me.' And the day before he departed, being alone with him, he desired me to fasten the door, and, looking earnestly upon me, said, 'Dear father! thou art a dear father; and I know thy Father. Come, let us two have a little meeting, a private ejaculation together, now nobody else is here. O, my soul is sensible of the love of God!' And, indeed, a sweet time we had. It was like to precious ointment for his burial.

"He desired, if he were not to live, that he might go home to die there, and we made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my house; and so much stronger was his spirit than his body, that he spoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed, and a symptom it was of his greater journey to his longer home. The morning he left us, growing more and more sensible of his extreme weakness, he asked me, as doubtful of himself,

'How shall I go home?' I told him, In a coach. He answered, 'I am best in a coach;' but observing his decay, I said, 'Why, child, thou art at home every where.'——'Aye,' said he, 'so I am in the Lord.' I took that opportunity to ask him, if I should remember his love to his friends at Bristol and London. 'Yes, yes,' said he, 'my love in the Lord, my love to all friends in the Lord and relations too.' He said, 'Aye, to be sure.' Being asked if he would have his ass's milk or eat any thing, he answered, 'No more outward food, but heavenly food is provided for me.'

"His time drawing on apace, he said to me, 'My dear father, kiss me! Thou art a dear father. I desire to prize it. How can I make thee amends?'

"He also called his sister, and said to her, 'Poor child, come and kiss me!' between whom seemed a tender and long parting. I sent for his brother, that he might kiss him too; which he did. All were in tears about him. Turning his head to me, he said softly, 'Dear father! hast thou no hope for me?' I answered, 'My dear child! I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair, but am and have been resigned, though one of the hardest lessons I ever learned.' He paused awhile, and with a composed frame of mind he said, 'Come life, come death, I am resigned. O, the love of God overcomes my soul!' Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring up the matter that was in his throat, somebody fetched the Doctor; but as soon

as he came in he said, 'Let my father speak to the Doctor, and I'll go to sleep;' which he did, and waked no more; breathing his last on my breast the tenth day of the second month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his one-and-twentieth year.

"So ended the life of my dear child and eldest son, much of my comfort and hope, and one of the most tender and dutiful as well as ingenious and virtuous youths I knew, if I may say so of my own dear child, in whom I lost all that any father could lose in a child, since he was capable of any thing that became a sober young man, my friend and companion as well as most affectionate and dutiful child.

"May this loss and end have its due weight and impression upon all his dear relations and friends, and upon those to whose hands this account may come, for their remembrance, and preparation for their great and last change, and I have my end in making my dear child's thus far public.

"WILLIAM PENN."

William Penn was but little from home during the present year. Indeed his domestic situation did not allow him. He was, however, not unemployed. One effort, the produce of his contemplative hours, appeared in the publication of "Primitive Christianity revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers, written in Testimony to the present Dispensation of God through them to the World, that Prejudices may be removed, the

Simple informed, the Well-inclined encouraged, and Truth and its innocent Friends rightly represented." This book contained a summary of the faith and practice of the Quakers, in which he threw new light upon some points which he had before handled. I submit to the reader the following concise analysis of its contents.

He began by stating their grand fundamental principle; namely, the Light of Christ in man.——Its nature was divine; that is, though in man, yet not of man, but of God.——He quoted the evidence of Scripture for this principle and its various names—for its divinity—for the creation of all things by it.——It produced salvation, being life as well as light to men.——He proposed and answered three objections to the doctrine advanced: first, that it was a mere natural light; secondly, that it lighted not all; thirdly, that it was that only which was taught by Christ in the flesh: after which he endeavoured to confirm its divinity and universality still further.——He expatiated upon the virtue of this principle within, as it gave discernment, as it manifested God, and as it gave light to the soul.——It was the very ground of the apostolical message. ——He answered an objection as to two lights.—The same objection had been anticipated and answered by the apostle John.—This principle or light was the same with the Spirit.—This he attempted to prove from the properties of the two when compared.—He illustrated the difference between its manifestation and operation in Gospel-

times, but not in principle.——He took into consideration several other objections against it, among which were—that, if men had always had it, how came it that Gospel-truths were not known before Christ's coming?—that, allowing the Jews to have had it, it did not follow that the Gentiles had it also—and that, if it were one principle, why were there so many shapes and modes of religion, both heathen, patriarchal, and Christian, since the world began?——He went into the origin of idolatry.——He contended that this principle was the best antidote against it—and that it was the only one by which man could know or become the image of God.——He laid down what he conceived to be the doctrine of satisfaction and justification according to the Scriptures.——The Quakers believed in this doctrine as he had then explained it, but not as perverted by many others.——They owned Christ as a sacrifice and a mediator.——Justification was twofold; first from guilt, and secondly from the pollution of sin.——They believed, not mystically, but substantially and really, the coming of Christ in the flesh.—This creed was no objection to a belief of his spiritual appearance in the soul.—Men could not be saved by their belief of the one without the sense and experience of the other; that is, they could not be saved by Christ without them, while they rejected his work and power within them, giving themselves up to evil ways.——The true worship of God consisted of the operation of the Spirit and Truth in the inward parts.—The true ministry proceeded

from the same source.—The true ministers of Christ were his witnesses, who spoke what they knew, having passed from a degenerate to a redeemed state.—They were known again, because, having received freely, they preached freely, that is, without cost to their hearers.——After this he specified what customs the Quakers could not conscientiously adopt, with their reasons for rejecting them; but, as most of these have been mentioned before, it seems unnecessary to repeat them.

About this time George Keith, who had made such a disturbance among the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Territories, and who had since arrived in England, began to have recourse to his old practice of fomenting disputation and strife. Angry at having been disgraced by their disownment of him, he turned all his ill will against them. He had gained on his return a few adherents, and with these he held separate meetings at Turners'-hall in London, where he challenged the Quakers to dispute with him on the subject of religion. William Penn was much grieved by his conduct, and, being able no longer to bear it, he wrote a little book, which he called "More Work for George Keith." In the preface to it he described the man, as it was then said, aptly, and his restless and factious spirit; and in the body of it he took pains to refute the lies which he then propagated, by transcribing passages from his former works, in which the man himself had vindicated the Quakers in the very points on which he was then condemning them.

In this year William Penn paid a visit to the Czar of Muscovy, afterwards called Peter the Great, the founder of the Russian empire, who was then in England. The Czar worked at this time, as a common shipwright, in the King's dock-yard at Deptford, in order that he might know the art of shipbuilding practically, and thus lay the foundation of a Russian navy. When he chose to relax for awhile, he went to London, where he had a large house at the bottom of York-buildings. Here Prince Menzikoff was stationed, as well to receive him as to accompany him when he visited the Nobility or when he went to Court. As it was rumoured that the Czar resided here, Gilbert Molleson and Thomas Story, two respectable Quakers, went and gained access to him, and conversed with him, by means of an interpreter, on the subject of their religion. They presented him also with Barclay's Apology, in Latin, and other books. The Czar inquired, by means of the same interpreter, whether the books were not written by a Jesuit. He was also curious to know two things; first, why the Quakers did not pay respect to great persons, when in their presence, by taking off their hats; and, secondly, of what use they could be in any kingdom, seeing they would not bear arms and fight. This conversation, with other particulars, having transpired, and it being afterwards understood that the Czar knew nothing of Latin, but only his own tongue and High Dutch, William Penn felt a particular desire to see him. Accordingly he waited upon

him, accompanied by George Whitehead and others. He took several books with him, explanatory of the principles of his own Society, which had been translated some years before into the High Dutch language. These he presented to the Czar, who received them graciously. A conversation ensued between them in the same language, which William Penn spoke fluently. The Czar appeared to be much interested by it, so that the visit was satisfactory to both parties. Indeed he was so much impressed by it, that afterwards, while he was at Deptford, he occasionally attended the meeting of the Quakers there, when he conducted himself with great decorum and condescension, changing seats, and sitting down, and standing up, as he could best accommodate others. Nor was this impression of short duration: for in the year 1712, that is, sixteen years afterwards, when he was at Frederickstadt in Holstein with five thousand men to assist the Danes against the Swedes, one of his first inquiries was, whether there were any Quakers in the place; and being told there were, he signified his intention of attending one of their meetings. A meeting was accordingly appointed, to which he went, accompanied by Prince Menzikoff, General Dolgorucky, and several Dukes and great men. Soon after they were seated the worship began. Philip Defair, a Quaker, rose up and preached. The Muscovite Lords showed their respect by their silence, but they understood nothing of what was said. To remedy this, the Czar himself occasionally interpreted

as the words were spoken; and when the discourse was over, he commended it by saying, that whoever could live according to such doctrines would be happy.

We may now see what passed in America during the present year. Markham, it appears, called the Assembly on the twenty-sixth of October for the dispatch of business. They met accordingly; but one of their first acts was to send him a remonstrance. They had met, they said, to show their duty to the King; but he, Markham, following the practice of Fletcher, had acted illegally in his public proceedings, both with respect to them and the other branch of the legislative body. He had refused to issue his writs for choosing members of the Council and Assembly on the last charteral day, and had moreover discouraged the people from electing at that time. He had convened them also contrary to former usage. He had in the last session also dismissed them abruptly, and he had refused to sanction the new Act of Settlement, though it had been modelled and afterwards altered according to his wishes. They had therefore to request of him that he would restore to them their ancient rights.

It does not appear what reply Markham made to this remonstrance; but in a short time afterward he sent them a letter, by means of their Speaker, which he had received from Governor Fletcher of New York, and in which he, Fletcher, requested more money of them for the relief of the Indians. They returned no answer to this; but instead of

it they requested him to pass the new Act of Settlement, and to issue out his writs for choosing a full number of representatives to serve in the Provincial Council and Assembly on the tenth day of the first month next, according to Charter; adding, that if the Proprietary (William Penn) should disapprove the same, then this his act should be void, and in no way prejudicial either to him or the people. Upon this a new Act of Settlement was prepared. It provided, among other things, that two persons only should be chosen out of each county as the Representatives of the people in Council, and four out of each as their Representatives in Assembly. Thus the Council was to consist in future of twelve instead of eighteen, and the Assembly of twenty-four instead of thirty-six. It provided also (seeing what had happened under Fletcher) that all persons elected to Council and Assembly, and all appointed to offices of state and trust, who should conscientiously scruple to take an oath, but who, when lawfully required, would make the declaration of their Christian belief according to an Act passed in the first year of William and Mary, should be allowed to make their solemn affirmation in lieu thereof. It enacted again, that the Assembly should have power to prepare and propose to the Governor and Council all such Bills as they or the major part of them should at any time see needful to be passed into Laws, not however debarring the Governor and Council the same privilege; and that the said Assembly should sit upon their own adjournments,

and continue for public purposes, until the Governor and Council for the time being should dismiss them.

The Bill, containing these and other provisions, which conferred such new and important privileges upon the Assembly, having been prepared, was at length brought in. It was soon afterwards passed by Markham. The immediate consequence was, that the Assembly on their part passed a Bill for the money, which Fletcher had proposed to them to raise through the medium of the latter: the sum was three hundred pounds, but it was to be appropriated entirely to the relief of the distressed Indians who inhabited the country above Albany.

CHAPTER X.

A. 1697—publishes "A Caution humbly offered about passing the Bill against Blasphemy"—Bill is dropped—affairs of Pennsylvania.

William Penn after the death of his eldest son took a house at Bristol, where he and his family now resided. We hear but little of him during the present year*. We know of only one publication, which was that of a small paper, and which he wrote on the following occasion:

A Bill was depending in the House of Lords against blasphemy. William Penn was of course in favour of any law which had in view such a moral end; for, among those laws which he had established in Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto annexed, was one against speaking profanely of God, Christ, the Spirit, or the Scriptures. But the object of this Bill was very different. It was to make the denial of certain ideas relative to the

* We only know that he rode with William Edmundson on his way to Melksham, and with James Dickinson on his way into Cumberland. It was his custom, when ministers of his own Society came to Bristol to preach, to accompany them on horseback for some miles out of the city, on their return home, or on their way to other places.

Trinity, as contained in a certain formula of words, blasphemy. The paper therefore, which he wrote at this time, and which he afterwards distributed among the Lords for their perusal, consisted of considerations on the subject. He showed, first, from the incorrect wording of the Bill, that it would have but a partial effect, for that many thousands residing in the kingdom might blaspheme, and yet escape its penalties. But he showed what was far more important, that, where the Bill would actually reach the offenders, it would open all the doors of Persecution, and occasion mischief to all classes of people, and to Churchmen and Dissenters equally. If the Bill were to contain a creed, he hoped that this creed would be given in the terms of Scripture, and not in the words of men's own wisdom, which were liable to ambiguous interpretation. Thus, for example, the Bill enacted, that, if any educated in or professing the Christian religion within the realm denied any of the persons in the holy Trinity to be God, they should be liable to a certain punishment; but he had rather the Bill would enact (if there must be a Bill at all), that if any denied any of "the Three that bore record in Heaven" to be God, the same punishment should follow: for many might believe and own the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be God according to the holy Scriptures, and yet scruple the term PERSONS. Now all such, even Churchmen themselves, might be brought by unprincipled in-

formers under severe sufferings merely for words and terms, when they sincerely owned the substance of the doctrine which the Bill approved. This paper is said to have made its impression upon several of those to whom it was addressed. At any rate, the Bill was dropped in the same session.

With respect to his American concerns, I may observe, that Markham, having called the Assembly in the present year both at the proper time and according to the proper form, laid before them, as in the preceding, a letter which he had received from Fletcher, the Governor of New York. Fletcher informed him, that the three hundred pounds sent to him last year had been spent in contingencies, as he called them, to feed and clothe the Indians according to the vote of that session, and requested of the Assembly further assistance in the same way. The letter was accordingly referred to a Committee, consisting both of the Council and Assembly, for their answer. The result was, that they thanked the Governor for his attention towards them in having applied the money to the use intended, but as to a further supply at present, they could not consent to it. They urged the infancy, poverty, and incumbered state of the Province, as reasons for not acceding to his wishes. At the same time they declared their readiness to observe the King's further commands as far as their abilities and their religious persuasions would

permit. This was the substance of their public answer. It was obvious, however, that they began to view the demands of Fletcher with a suspicious eye. He had no sooner been armed with public power than he asked them for money; and, when he had obtained what he wanted, he asked them for more. Thus taxation had begun, and an acquiescence in the present demand might have been to render it permanent. They foresaw, if they did not immediately attempt to stem the torrent, that they might be involved, by means of their local connections, in all the evils of the old corrupt and military Governments, and that expense and misery might be entailed upon them for generations to come. They had had a fear too, that their money had been used, not to supply the Indians with what they merely wanted, but to make them presents, that is, to bribe or entice them into a confederacy against other Indians engaged by the French; thus drawing innocent people into the horrors of the quarrel, and buying up blood on one side to be expended for blood on the other. Under these impressions, as well as under the consideration that the colony, then only in an infant state, had been settled by persons, many of whom were but in moderate circumstances, and others of whom had borrowed capital for their adventure, they thought they might be excused, if they refused the application which had been made to them. They had

an expectation also, that William Penn would soon occupy his former station among them in his own person, and they thought it not improper to suspend their decision concerning it till his return.

CHAPTER XI.

A. 1698—*goes to Ireland as a minister of the Gospel—writes "The Quaker a Christian"—and "Gospel Truths as held by the Quakers"—preaches at Dublin, Lambstown, Wexford, Waterford, Clonmel, Cork, and many other places—has his horses seized at Ross—incident and interview with the Bishop at Cashel—returns to Bristol—writes "Gospel Truths defended against the Bishop of Cork's Exceptions"—goes to London to take leave of adventurers to Pennsylvania in the ship Providence—returns to Bristol—writes "Truth of God as professed by the People called Quakers."*

WILLIAM PENN began now to think seriously of returning to America; but it was necessary that he should first settle his private affairs. He had a large estate in Ireland, which he had formerly superintended, and which he was desirous of visiting again. He felt himself also particularly called upon to work once more as a religious labourer in the vineyard there. Accordingly, taking leave of his family, he proceeded to Holy-head. Here he met by appointment Thomas Story and John Everott, two other ministers of the Gospel belonging to his own Society. These now joining him,

they embarked in the same vessel, and pursued their intended course.

When they arrived at Dublin it was the time of the half-yearly meeting of the Quakers. Meetings for worship were usually held at this season, and they were generally well attended, not only by members of the Society but by others. But when it was known that William Penn had arrived, and that he was likely to come forth among the preachers, they were more than ordinarily crowded. Many of the nobility and also of the clergy were present, and among the latter the Dean of Derry, who was much pleased as well as with the matter as the manner of his discourses. In the intervals of these meetings he took an opportunity of visiting the Lords Justices of Ireland, and several of the chief ministers of the Government; thus discharging the offices of friendship, and at the same time raising in their minds a good disposition towards those of his own religious persuasion, which might be serviceable to them on a future day.

It is remarkable, while he was in Dublin, that John Plympton, the person whom he had silenced between two and three years before at a dispute at Melksham in Wiltshire, as then related, was there circulating a pamphlet called "A Quaker no Christian." This coming to the ears of William Penn, he answered it by another, which he called "The Quaker a Christian," and which he also circulated in like manner. But that he might do away the impression, if any had been made by Plympton, he

thought it proper to draw up a little paper to inform the people of Ireland what the principles of the Quakers were. It was entitled "Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers." It contained eleven principles as embraced by them. It was signed by himself and three others. But to render the information still more complete, he reprinted, while there, the eighth and ninth chapters of his "Primitive Christianity revived."

The half-yearly meeting being over, he left Dublin in company with Thomas Story and others, and began his journey into the country. The first meeting he held was at Lambstown, where he preached. From thence he went to Wexford: here another meeting was gathered. From Wexford he set out for Waterford. He had previously given notice that he would hold a meeting there on the same day; but at Ross, on his way thither, he was detained for some time by a curious incident. Some of the horses belonging to him and the company had been ferried over the river, while they were at dinner; but the rest had been stopped and seized. The Irish Parliament had passed an Act, in order to discourage what they called the evil purposes of Papists, that no Papist should keep a horse of the value of five guineas and upwards: any Protestant discovering and informing against such a horse, might bring it to the Magistrate, and, by tendering him five guineas to be paid to the owner, might keep it afterwards as his own property. Upon this plea it was that they were detained; for Lieutenant

Wallis and Cornet Montgomery, of Colonel Ecclin's dragoons, choosing to suspect William Penn and his Friends of being Papists, in the hope of getting a large booty, had made the seizure; for which they had previously obtained, upon their own information, a warrant from the Mayor. The warrant stated that, whereas several persons, whose names were unknown, then in the town of Ross, were Papists within the construction of the late Act, and had in their custody several horses of the value of five guineas each horse; and information having been given of the same, the Constables were required to make diligent search both for the persons and horses, and to bring them before him (the Mayor) that they might be dealt with according to law, and the true meaning of the said Act. William Penn and his Friends, not knowing what had taken place, went after dinner to take boat; "but as they were about to enter it, about half a dozen dragoons stepped in before them, and forced it off from the shore; which William Penn observing, he went to some of their officers and gentlemen standing on the key, reasonably expecting they should so resent the abuse, as at least to reprove the soldiers; which when they neglected, it became obvious that it was done by their direction to prevent the passage. Then William Penn said to them with a suitable freedom and resentment, 'What! are you gentlemen and officers, and will you stand here and suffer such insolences in your open view?'" Soon after this William Penn and several other Friends passed

the river, and taking the horses, which had been ferried over before the seizure, they proceeded to Waterford. The others staid behind to settle the matter about those which were in custody, which they recovered by taking out a replevin. It may not be improper to observe, that William Penn wrote afterwards to the Lords Justices of Ireland to complain of the abuse. The result was, that the officers were confined to their chambers. The latter, fearing they would be broke, made application to Colonel Pursel, the Governor of Waterford, to use his interest with William Penn in their behalf. This the Colonel did, and "William Penn," says Thomas Story, "who was not a man of revenge, but of justice and mercy, so soon as he found their request was made in a due sense of their error, delayed not to solicit for them accordingly; upon which they were released and forgiven."

But to return. William Penn, having crossed the river, and availed himself of the use of one of the horses which had been ferried over, proceeded to Waterford. The delay however had been such, that he did not arrive there till nearly the time of the Meeting. Here, after a suitable opportunity of silence, he preached. As he had been expected, great multitudes were present. It was said that the Bishop and several of his Clergy were equally curious to hear him: but they did not go within the walls of the Meeting, satisfying themselves with what they could pick up of his discourse in an adjoining garden.

After leaving Waterford he attended two Meetings at Clonmel, one at Youghall, one at Cork, and one at Bandon. While on this latter excursion he took an opportunity of visiting his estates. He spent however but three days upon one, and two upon the other; during which he made all the arrangements that seemed necessary. After this he paid a visit to Lord Shannon, and from thence returned to Cork.

During his stay at Cork he held several Meetings, which were crowded beyond former example. At one of these in particular he is said to have delivered himself in an extraordinary manner. Thomas Story, speaking of it in his Journal, characterizes it thus: "The Lord was mightily with him on that day, clothing him with majesty, holy zeal, and divine wisdom, to the great satisfaction of Friends there, and admiration and applause of the people." He visited the Bishop also, who received him in a friendly manner. Finding him conversant with the writings of the Society, and believing him to be a moderate man, he presented him with one of those little papers, which he had published at Dublin, called "Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers."

Having left Cork he held two Meetings at Charleville, one at Limeric, and another at Birr. Here the Church-clergyman, who had attended his discourse, waited upon him in the evening to compliment him upon it, and to converse with him on the subject of religion. From Birr he proceeded to

Mountmellick, Edenderry, and Lurgan; at all of which places he preached to large assemblies, and with great advantage to the character of his own Society; but particularly in the latter place, because many professors among the Sectarians, who attended him, acknowledged that the Quakers had been wronged by false reports concerning their principles and doctrines. From Lurgan he returned to Dublin. Here he spent several days, during which he frequently renewed the exercise of his gift as a minister of the Gospel in that city.

After this he travelled into the country again, and among other places arrived at Cashel. Being there on one of the days on which the Quakers usually held their public worship, he went to their place of meeting; but no sooner were the doors opened than it was filled. Being prevented from getting in so soon as some other of his Friends, he took his station in an adjoining room, where he finished some important letters. In process of time the Meeting began. The first who rose up to preach was John Vaughton: but he had not proceeded far in his discourse when the Mayor of the town, accompanied by constables, appeared by the direction of the Bishop, and in the King's name ordered the congregation to disperse. Vaughton, upon hearing the summons, (for the Mayor had made but little way into the Meeting-house,) stated aloud, that he with other Friends had been admitted into the presence of King William before he came from England; that the King had asked him, If the

Quakers had full liberty in all his dominions to exercise their religion without molestation; that, not knowing any thing to the contrary, they had answered, That through the good providence of God, who had placed him on the throne, and his own kind indulgence, they had now more liberty than before, for which they were thankful both to God and the King; that the King said in reply, That if any disturbed the Quakers in the exercise of their religious liberties, and they would make him acquainted with it, he would provide for them therein, and protect them. And here, addressing himself to the Mayor, he said, "Thou disturbest our Meeting, and commandest us in the King's name to disperse, as if we were aggressors. But whether we should obey thee without law, or believe the King's word and accept of his royal protection according to law, let all that hear judge." After this Thomas Story rose, and made some pertinent remarks, which seemed to have irritated the Mayor, so that the latter attempted to press forward towards him; but his attention was taken off by a message from William Penn in the adjoining room. It was clear that the Mayor did not like the errand upon which the Bishop had sent him; for he immediately took the opportunity, which this message afforded him, of withdrawing himself from the Meeting. William Penn treated him on his entrance into the adjoining room with all the respect due to his office. The result of their conversation was, that the Mayor was to wait upon the Bishop to solicit his patience

till the meeting was over, at which time William Penn and others would wait upon him (the Bishop) at his own house. This promise they performed. An interview afterwards took place. William Penn could not help expressing to the Bishop his surprise, that as a general liberty had been granted by law to the King's subjects to worship God in their own way, provided they conformed themselves to the law, and as the very Meeting they attended had been held on the day and in the place when and where the Quakers usually met, he (the Bishop) should have ordered the Mayor to disturb them. The Bishop made no hesitation in his reply. He had been, he said, that morning to church; and, when there, he had found nobody to preach to but the Mayor, Churchwardens, a few Constables, and the bare walls, his congregation having deserted him for the Quakers. Chagrined at this circumstance, he had sent the Mayor and Constables with a message to them, but he owed them no ill will. Soon after this they parted upon seeming good terms the one with the other. The Bishop, however, finding afterwards that he had violated the Toleration-Act, wrote to the Earl of Galway and the other Lord Justice of Ireland, stating, in excuse for his conduct, that "Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered together in that place, that day, such a vast multitude of people, and so many armed Papists, that it struck a terror into him and the town; and not knowing what might be the consequence of such an appearance, he

had sent the Mayor and other Magistrates to disperse them."

William Penn after this proceeded to Cork, preaching at several towns as he went along. At Cork also he had several meetings, as well as in the country round about. Here he found his friend the Earl of Galway, who showed him the Bishop's letter above mentioned. Having now been between two and three months in Ireland, and having preached in the Queen's county, and the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limeric, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, he and Thomas Story took their passage in the Jane of London, to be landed in the Bristol Channel. But while he was embarking he received a letter from the Bishop of Cork, in answer to the little paper he had left him, entitled "Gospel-Truths as held by the People called Quakers." The Bishop, it appears, had examined the eleven articles contained in it, and sent his opinion in writing upon each. The fault he found with "Gospel-Truths," though particular, may be conveyed generally in the words of the Preface to his own Letter: "The only articles," says he, "in which you have expressed a sufficient Christian belief, are your sixth, touching Justification, and your last, touching Government and your submission thereto. I wish you may always stick to this belief and practice; and I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledge the necessity of Christ as a propitiation, in order to remission of sins and justi-

fying you as sinners from guilt. 'Tis the first time I have heard of it among you. As to all the rest of your articles (I mean those which I understand), I must tell you, the declaration of your faith comes so short of what is required from people to denominate them Christians, that, except under each article you believe more than you have declared, you cannot be accounted Christians. For, first, in those articles of faith which you have thought fit to mention, you have set down only some little ends (I had almost called them snaps) of the article: and, secondly, many more whole articles of the true Christian faith, and which are of no less import, you have entirely omitted, waved, or suppressed."

William Penn was not a little disturbed at this letter: but he had now no time to answer it, being then on board; and therefore he put it into his pocket, with a view of replying to it at a future time. In a day or two after this he and Thomas Story were landed at Minehead, from whence they proceeded to Bristol. His first employment after his arrival at home was to write "A Defence of a Paper called Gospel-Truths against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony." He was more than five weeks in composing it. Thomas Story transcribed it for him. It elucidated more and more the principles embraced by those of his own religious profession.

In about six weeks after the publication of this, William Penn went to London, and from thence to Deptford, to take leave of several Friends who were

going out as adventurers on board the Providence, of London, Captain Cant, for Pennsylvania. Among these was Thomas Story himself. The latter had for some time felt a growing desire of being useful there. He was a man of an uncommonly clear understanding, and of considerable knowledge, as it related to the English law. On this latter account William Penn, who had besides a great regard for him as a man, and for his talents as a minister, had in some measure encouraged the inclination he had manifested for the voyage. It appears that, before sailing, they held a religious meeting in the great cabin, where William Penn broke out into prayer "for the good and preservation of all, and especially of those who were going to leave their native country; with thanksgiving also for the favours of God, and for that holy and precious opportunity of their then spiritual enjoyment, as an addition to his many former blessings."

On his return to Bristol he wrote "The Truth of God, as held by the People called Quakers, being a short Vindication of them from the Abuses and Misrepresentations put upon them by envious Apostates and mercenary Adversaries." This work he was induced to undertake in consequence of the mistakes which even yet prevailed respecting the tenets of the Society. It was in fact a yet further elucidation to the elucidation just before given to the public in his Answer to the Bishop of Cork. It treated further concerning God—Jesus Christ—the Holy Scriptures—Baptism—the breaking of Bread

—the Light of Christ—the Father, Word, and Spirit—Works—Christ as our Example—Freedom from Sin—Worship to God—God and Christ as in Man—Christ coming both in Flesh and Spirit—the Resurrection—Separation—Magistracy.

With respect to Pennsylvania, things are said to have gone on well for this year. We find, however, a Proclamation by the Deputy Governor, Markham, against illegal trade, the harbouring of pirates, and the growth of vice. It appears, however, to have been issued, not because these or other wicked practices in particular prevailed, but because they had been spoken of in England as prevailing there; and therefore it was thought proper to let the inhabitants both of the Province and Territories know what had been reported against them, that they might be particularly on their guard in these respects in future. As to illegal trade, or the harbouring of pirates, no legal regulation was thought necessary in consequence of the Proclamation, because neither of the evils was said to exist; but as to vice, which prevails more or less in all societies, it was proper to do something: and therefore, in conformity with the said Proclamation, the Magistrates were instructed by the Deputy Governor, by way of preventive, to curtail the number of ordinary or innkeepers, and to licence those only upon whose good conduct they thought they could depend.

CHAPTER XII.

A. 1699—religious dispute at West Dereham between the Quakers and the Norfolk clergy—writes a paper against "A brief Dicovery," the production of the latter—also "A just Censure of Francis Bugg's Address"—prepares for a voyage to America—draws up "Advice to his Children for their civil and religious Conduct"—also, on embarking, "A Letter to the People of God called Quakers, wherever scattered or gathered"—arrives in the Delaware—incidents there—yellow fever—proceeds to Philadelphia—visits in the country—anecdote related of him while at Merion—meets the Assembly—passes Bills against piracy and illicit trade—extreme severity of the weather.

In the beginning of the present year a public dispute was held at West Dereham in Norfolk, between some clergymen of the Established Church and a like number of Quakers, relative to certain doctrines in religion. The former, it appears, did not carry their point, at least with the auditors; the consequence of which was, that many of the clergy of the county made a common cause of it, and that some of the most able of them produced a pamphlet, called "A brief Discovery," in which they laid open what they supposed to be the mischievous er-

rors of the Quakers, both as they related to their principles and practice. In no book had the Quakers been more misrepresented or calumniated than in this, and in no one was a worse intention manifested towards them; for its tendency was to set aside the indulgence which the Toleration-Act had given to them among others; and in order that it might make an impression to this end, it was presented formally to the King and Parliament.

William Penn did not think it necessary to make an especial reply to this pamphlet, having in the course of his works answered the contents of it over and over again; but to counteract its effects he circulated a small paper among the Lords and Commons, in the name of the Society, of which the following is a copy:

"It does not surprise us to be evilly intreated, and especially by those who have an interest in doing it: but if conscience prevailed more than contention, and charity over-ruled prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adversaries.

"But such is our unhappiness, that nothing less will satisfy them than breaking in upon the indulgence which we enjoy, if they could persuade the Government to second their attempts to a new persecution; in order to which we perceive they have been hard at work to pervert our books, violate our sense, abuse our practice, and ridicule our persons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the patience of our profession is their security in abusing it.

"However, if it has weight enough with our superiors to make them expect a fresh defence of our principles and practices, we shall, with God's assistance, be ready for their satisfaction once more to justify both against the insults of our restless adversaries, who otherwise, we take leave to say, would not deserve our notice; since we have already repeatedly answered their objections in print, and think it our duty, as well as wisdom, to use the liberty the Government has favoured us with, in as peaceable and inoffensive a manner as may be.

"WILLIAM PENN."

He wrote, besides the above, "A just Censure of Francis Bugg's Address to the Parliament against the Quakers."

At this time William Penn was preparing to depart for his Government in Pennsylvania. It may be remembered, when he went his first voyage, that he left his family behind him, and that he left behind him also a beautiful letter to his wife and children. On the present occasion he determined to take his wife and family with him; notwithstanding which he thought it right to compose an address, which he called "Advice to his Children for their civil and religious Conduct." He was aware that death might arrest him in his course; and therefore, in case of such an event, he determined that they, his children, should know, when he was dead, what his mind would have been as to their conduct on a great variety of occasions, had

he been living. This address is a small volume of itself. Even an analysis of it would be too long for insertion here. Some idea however may be formed of it by stating, that it breathes the spirit, and contains many of the sentiments, of the first beautiful letter just mentioned, and that now and then we discover in it thoughts similar to some of those in his "Fruits of Solitude," which was a collection, as the reader will remember, of reflections and maxims, the result of his own experience, for the conduct of human life.

Having written this his advice, and prepared all other matters, he and his family proceeded to Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where they embarked. Here, before the ship sailed, he wrote a farewell letter to the members of his own religious Society, as he had done in his former voyage when lying in the Downs. It was called "A Letter to the People of God called Quakers, wherever scattered or gathered, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or in any other Part of Europe." The tenour of it was like that of the former, exhorting them to watch for their daily preservation, to turn their minds inward and there wait to feel their Redeemer, and to keep up the true fear and love of God; without which they would decay and wither.

After a tedious passage of nearly three months he arrived in the River Delaware on the last day of November. Just about this time a most horrible distemper, called then the Yellow Fever, had ceased. This distemper had been very fatal in several

of the West-India Islands some years before. Thomas Story, whom I mentioned in the last chapter to have gone to Pennsylvania the preceding year, witnessed its rise and progress there. He says in his Journal, that "while he was in Philadelphia six, seven, and eight a day were taken off for several weeks together." In describing the effect it had upon the minds of those who beheld its progress, he speaks thus: "Great was the majesty and the hand of the Lord. Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh. I saw no lofty nor airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure: but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as of those who waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave."

I have been induced to make this digression on this particular subject, because the yellow fever has generally been considered as having originally sprung, and this of late years, from Africa, and as having been imported from thence to our West Indies, and afterwards from thence to America. But the foregoing account falsifies such an idea, and fixes it to its proper latitudes. It may not be unimportant, in the future consideration of this distemper, to view it as one of long standing, and as belonging to those climates where its awful visitations have been so severely felt.

But to return. William Penn arrived in the River Delaware. By the time he had sailed past Chichester it began to be evening, and, meaning to sleep that night on shore, he ordered out his barge. Having landed, he proceeded to the house of Lydia Wade, near Chester. Here he found Thomas Story and some other of his Friends, with whom he spent the evening. It is said their conversation during this time was chiefly on the affairs of the Government.

The next morning he went over the creek in a boat to Chester, "and, as he landed, some young men officiously, and contrary to the express orders of some of the Magistrates, fired two small sea-pieces of cannon, and being ambitious of making three out of two, by firing one twice, one of them, darting in a cartridge of powder before the piece was sponged, had his left hand and arm shot to pieces; upon which, a surgeon being sent for, an amputation took place."

Having just seen and spoken to his old friends at Chester, he returned to the ship, when, weighing anchor, he and his family were conveyed straight to Philadelphia. On his arrival there the inhabitants were ready to gather round him. They received him with the marks of universal joy; nor was this joy allayed by any cruel accident as in the former case, every precaution having been taken, since the news of what had happened at Chester reached Philadelphia, to prevent a similar calamity there. On the other hand, it was increased by the belief

that it was the intention of the Governor, as he had frequently expressed in his letters, to fix his residence among them during the remainder of his life.

His first object after his arrival at Philadelphia was to call the Assembly. For this purpose he issued his writs; but, as certain previous notice was required by law, he could not bring them together so speedily as he wished. In the mean time he went about, notwithstanding the extraordinary severity of the weather, wherever he thought his presence would be looked for, or useful. We find him accordingly at one time at the quarter-sessions of the peace at Chester; at another at the marriage of Samuel Jenings's two daughters at Burlington; at another at a youth's meeting there; and at another at a general meeting of the Welsh Quakers at Haverfordwest. While he was at the latter place, he left it to sleep one night at Merion. Here happened what is related of him by Sutcliff in his late publication, entitled "Travels in some Parts of North America in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806;" an anecdote which ought not to be passed over. "A boy, about twelve years old, son of the person at whose house he lodged, being a lad of curiosity, and not often seeing such a guest as William Penn, privately crept to the chamber-door up a flight of steps on the outside of the building. On peeping through the latchet-hole he was struck with awe in beholding this great man upon his knees by the bed-side, and in hearing what he said, for he

could distinctly hear him in prayer, and in thanksgiving that he was then provided for in the wilderness. This circumstance made an impression upon the lad's mind, which was not effaced in old age." I may remark, that during these and other excursions at this time the cold was intense. It rained frequently and froze at the same time, so that the fields are described to have been "as cakes of ice, and the trees of the woods as if candied." In going over to Burlington, to Samuel Jenings's as before mentioned, the passage was very dangerous, the ice drifting down in large columns. This occasioned his detention there three days, it being impossible till after that time to repass the river.

At length the Assembly met. The Governor in his address to them stated, that he was sorry that he had felt himself obliged to call them together at this inclement season, seeing that the general business of the Province and Territories did not particularly require their attendance; but it was necessary for his own reputation, and that of the Assembly, that two Bills should be immediately passed, one for the discouragement of piracy, and the other for the prevention of illicit trade. He represented to them the odium which the Pennsylvanians had incurred in England on account of a notion that such malpractices existed among them; and added the obligation he was under to his superiors to see the same corrected as soon as he had the power of Government in his own hands.

Upon this address the subject was taken into consideration. Two Bills were accordingly drawn up, and which, after many alterations and additions, were passed into Laws. It is a curious circumstance, that a clause was added to that for discouraging piracy, forbidding all trade from the Province and Territories to Madagascar; but a belief obtained with the Government of England at this time, that individual pirates concealed themselves in different parts of the New Settlements in America, and that it was the intention of these to remove their trade and magazines, and to form a junction and to establish a colony of freebooters in that island. It is also remarkable, when Markham stated publicly, in the preceding year, that no pirates had found their way to the Province or Territories, yet that very soon after William Penn's arrival two persons were put to gaol on suspicion of having been concerned as such, and another was admitted to bail on the same account, who proved to be the son-in-law of Markham himself. During this session, which held nearly sixteen days, little else was done than the consideration and framing of these Bills. One or two vacant offices were filled, and certain salaries regulated. The cold indeed was so intense, that the health of the members would have suffered, had it continued longer. They could not pass about as usual, nor keep themselves warm during their sittings. At one time, after they had met to forward the public business, they were obliged to adjourn entirely for the

latter cause. Very few notwithstanding absented themselves, and frequently all were present. As soon, however, as the two Bills were finished, they broke up, and returned to their respective homes.

CHAPTER XIII.

A. 1700—*proposes and carries in his own monthly meeting Resolutions relative to Indians and Negro slaves—removes obstructions and nuisances in the city—calls the Assembly—proceedings of the same—visits and receives Indians—travels in the ministry through the Province and Territories, and in the Jerseys and Maryland—anecdotes of him while on this excursion—calls a new Assembly at Newcastle—substance of his speech to them—proceedings of the same—their dissentions—these allayed by his wisdom and justice—particulars relative to their rules and customs.*

William Penn, having passed his Bills against piracy and illicit trade, retired to his mansion at Pennsbury, which was then as well as afterwards the place of his general residence. There were two objects which at this time particularly occupied his attention there. He had already interested himself in one of them during his first residence in America, namely, the instruction and civilization of the Indians. He was now desirous of resuming it, and also of taking into consideration the other, which related to the condition of African or Negro slaves.

I must observe on the latter subject, that soon after the colony had been planted, that is, in the year 1682, when William Penn was first resident in it, some few Africans had been imported, but that more had followed. At this time the traffic in slaves was not branded with infamy as at the present day. It was considered, on the other hand, as favourable to both parties: to the American planters, because they had but few labourers in comparison with the extent of their lands; and to the poor Africans themselves, because they were looked upon as persons redeemed out of superstition, idolatry, and heathenism. But though the purchase and sale of them had been admitted with less caution upon this principle, there were not wanting among the Quakers of Pennsylvania those who, soon after the introduction of them there, began to question the moral licitness of the traffic. Accordingly, at the yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, held in 1688, it had been resolved, on the suggestion of emigrants from Crisheim who had adopted the principles of William Penn, that the buying, selling, and holding men in slavery was inconsistent with the tenets of the Christian religion. In 1696 a similar Resolution had been passed at the yearly meeting of the same religious Society for the same province. In consequence then of these noble Resolutions, the Quakers had begun to treat their slaves in a manner different from that of other people. They had begun to consider them as the children of the same great Parent, to whom frater-

nal offices were due; and hence, in 1698, there were instances where they had admitted them into their meeting-houses to * worship in common with themselves.

William Penn was highly gratified by the consideration of what had been done on this important subject. From the very first introduction of en-

* I cannot help copying into a note an anecdote from Thomas Story's Journal for this year. "On the thirteenth," says he, "we had a pretty large meeting, where several were tendered, among which were some Negroes. And here I shall observe, that Thomas Simons having several Negroes, one of them, as also several belonging to Henry White, had of late come to meetings, and, having a sense of Truth, several others thereaway were likewise convinced, and like to do well. And the morning that we came from Thomas Simon's, my companion speaking some words of Truth to his Negro-woman, she was tendered, and as I passed on horseback by the place where she stood weeping, I gave her my hand, and then she was much more broken: and finding the day of the Lord's tender visitation and mercy upon her, I spake encouragingly to her, and was glad to find the poor Blacks so near the Truth and reachable. She stood there looking after us, and weeping, as long as we could see her. I had inquired of one of the black men, how long they had come to meetings; and he said, 'they had always been kept in ignorance, and disregarded as persons who were not to expect any thing from the Lord, till Jonathan Taylor, who had been there the year before, discoursing with them, had informed them that the grace of God through Christ was given also to them; and that they ought to believe in and be led and taught by it, and so might come to be good Friends, and saved as well as others. And on the next occasion, which was when William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson were there, they went to meetings, and several of them were convinced.' Thus one planteth, and another watereth, but God giveth the increase."

slaved Africans into his province he had been solicitous about their temporal and eternal welfare. He had always considered them as persons of the like nature with himself, as having the same desire of pleasure and the same aversion from pain, as children of the same Father, and heirs of the same promises. Knowing how naturally the human heart became corrupted and hardened by the use of power, he was fearful lest in time these friendless strangers should become an oppressed people. Accordingly, as his predecessor George Fox, when he first visited the British West India islands, exhorted all those, who attended his meetings for worship there to consider their slaves as branches of their own families, for whose spiritual instruction they would one day or other be required to give an account, so William Penn had, on his first arrival in America, inculcated the same notion. It lay therefore now upon his mind to endeavour to bring into practice what had appeared to him to be right in principle. To accomplish this, there were two ways. One of them was, to try to incorporate the treatment of slaves as a matter of Christian duty, into *the discipline of his own religious Society;* and the other, to secure it among others in the colony of a different religious description, *by a legislative act.* Both of these were necessary. The former, however, he resolved to attempt first. The Society itself had already afforded him a precedent by its Resolutions in 1688 and in 1696, as before mentioned, and had thereby done something material in the progress of the

work. It was only to get a minute passed upon their books to the intended effect. Accordingly, at the very first monthly meeting of the Society, which took place in Philadelphia in the present year, he proposed the subject. He laid before them the concern which had been so long upon his mind, relative to these unfortunate people. He pressed upon them the duty of allowing them as frequently as possible to attend their meetings for worship, and the benefit that would accrue to both by the instruction of them in the principles of the Christian religion. The result was, that a meeting was appointed more particularly for the Negroes once every month; so that, besides the common opportunities they had of collecting religious knowledge by frequenting the places of worship, there was one day in the month, in which, as far as the influence of the monthly meeting extended, they could neither be temporally, nor spiritually, over-looked. At this meeting also he proposed means, which were acceded to, for a more frequent intercourse between Friends and the Indians; he (William Penn) taking upon himself the charge of procuring interpreters, as well as of forwarding the means proposed.

Among the objects which occupied his attention at this time, was the improvement of Philadelphia. When he left that city after his first voyage it contained about a hundred houses. At this time they amounted to seven hundred. He issued an Order of Council for removing all the slaughter-houses to the bank of the river, so that the filth proceeding

from thence might be constantly washed away by the current. He removed also every thing in the way of obstruction. By the first measure he consulted the health and cleanliness, and by the latter the convenience, of the inhabitants.

Having called the Assembly together according to due form on the tenth of May, he sent them a message. Understanding that several of them were dissatisfied with the Charter which had been granted to them by Markham in 1696, he was desirous, he said, that they should have a new one, more congenial to their own minds and circumstances. He accordingly sent to inform them, that "he was ready to propose to them a new form of Government." This he chose to make the first Act of the Session, not only because he wished to show the Assembly how far he regarded their interests and those of the other inhabitants of the Province and Territories, but because, by starting the subject thus early, both he and they would have longer time to consider it, and to make such alterations as would contribute towards its greater perfection.

On the first of June he attempted to realize the other part of his plan as it related to Negro slaves, which was to secure a proper treatment of them among all descriptions of people by a legislative act. By this time he had fully considered the subject. He was aware that the sudden manumission of them would not be attended with happy consequences even to themselves. Certain previous education would be necessary; and that species of education

would be best, which would most improve their moral condition. To improve their moral condition, recourse must be had to moral means. Thus, for example, marriage might be made a moral mean; but then all polygamy must be abolished, and all power of adultery prevented, as far as possible, both on the part of blacks and whites. Rewards again might be used advantageously to the same end; but then the evil-doer was not to escape punishment. Hence punishment would be necessary. This, however, ought to be proportioned to men's knowledge of good and evil, and the nature of the offence. Fair trials should be afforded to the offender also. Upon these principles he drew up a Bill "for regulating Negroes in their morals and marriages," which he proposed to the Assembly on the day now mentioned. He sent in afterwards another for the "regulation of their trials and punishments;" and on the fourth of June a third "for preventing abuses upon the Indians." But he had no sooner proposed these, than his feelings received as it were a convulsive shock. Can it be believed, that the Assembly could be so little studious of gratifying the wishes of their Governor, who had half ruined himself for them and the Province, could be so ignorant that these his proposals were built on the laws of Nature which were immutable, or so ungrateful to God, who had furnished them when in affliction themselves with an asylum under so honourable a protector, as to have negatived two of these Bills, acceding only to that which related to the trial and

punishment of their slaves? Yet so it was. This conduct on the part of the Assembly must appear unaccountable to the reader; and to help him to unravel it we have nothing but conjecture. We have no reason assigned for it. Nor is there any record but of the fact itself. With respect to conjecture, there are circumstances, however, which, when thrown together, may produce us a little light. In the first place, the administration of Fletcher had very much soured the temper both of the Assembly and the inhabitants, and had disposed them to look cautiously at every proposal which came from the Government, and rather to resist than promote it. The jealousies, again, which were mentioned to have arisen between the inhabitants of the Province and those of the Territories, were in full force at this moment, so that what the Representatives of the former seemed very anxious to carry, those of the latter sometimes (and this merely out of a spirit of opposition) negatived to a man. Now it must be observed that, the Territory-men being principally Swedes and Dutchmen, very few if any of their members were Quakers. It must be observed also, that though originally the Members for the Province were mostly Quakers, yet the proportion of these, in consequence of the great influx of people of a different description into Pennsylvania in the last five or six years, had been reduced. It must be observed again, that the last comers were not men of such high moral character as the first; for whereas, before the Toleration Act, they who came

to these parts were principally religious persons who came to seek a place of refuge from persecution; numbers after the said Act flocked to it from a different motive, namely, solely that of getting money. Hence, not only the population of Pennsylvania, but they who represented it, were somewhat degenerate in comparison of their predecessors. Had the majority consisted of Quakers, both these Bills must have passed; for it is impossible that they could have refused to sanction in their legislative, what they had determined upon as essentially necessary in their religious capacity. Besides, the Council of William Penn consisted wholly of Quakers. Now all these had joined the Governor in proposing to the Assembly the Bills in question.

It is not necessary to specify the other Bills which were proposed in the present session. It may be sufficient to observe, that they were principally of a local nature, such as related to property, land, revenue, or commerce, and that they were all passed. In considering and passing them the Assembly were occupied about a month. They met, as I before mentioned, on the tenth of May, and the Governor dissolved them on the eighth of June.

William Penn, being now loosed from his attendance upon the Legislature (for he was almost daily confined to the Council-chamber, while it was sitting, to receive bills and messages, and to hold conferences), became once more a free man. Upon this he left Philadelphia, and repaired to Pennsbury. While here, one of his first objects was to put in

force the Resolution, entered upon the book of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, of keeping up a more frequent intercourse between Friends and the Indians. Accordingly he made excursions into the country for this purpose. We hear of him, very soon after the Assembly had been dissolved, at an Indian feast. It took place near a beautiful spring of water, which was overhung by the branches of lofty trees. Several bucks were killed. Hot cakes were served up also of wheat and beans. After feasting, some of the Indians danced. With the same view, he was desirous of seeing the Indians in turn at his own house. Hence Kings and Queens, with their followers, paid their visits to him. When they came on public business or in state, he received them in his hall of audience, which was a large room built for the purpose, and in which was placed an oaken arm-chair, in which he usually sat when he conferred with them on such occasions. It may be observed, that he made a treaty about this time with the Susquehannah and other Indians.

While at Pennsbury he undertook a journey through the Province and Territories as a minister of the Gospel. Among the places he visited in this capacity was Haverford. An anecdote is recorded of him while going there, which is worth relating. A little girl, of the name of Rebecca Wood, was walking from Derby, where she resided, to the same place, and also to attend the meeting there. It happened that William Penn, who was on horseback, overtook her. "On coming up with her," says

Sutcliff, "he inquired where she was going? and, on informing him, he with his usual good nature, desired her to get up behind him; and, bringing his horse to a convenient place, she mounted, and so rode away upon the bare back. Being without shoes or stockings, her bare legs and feet hung dangling by the side of the Governor's horse. Although William Penn was at this time both Governor and Proprietary, he did not think it beneath him thus to help along a poor bare-footed girl on her way to meeting."

It appears also, while he was at Pennsbury, that he travelled to other meetings of the Society, which were out of the limits of his own province. Thus we find him preaching in the Jerseys. Thus we find him also at a meeting in Maryland. Of this John Richardson, in his Travels, gives us the following account: "We were," says he, "at a yearly meeting at Treddhaven, in Maryland, upon the eastern shore, to which meeting for worship came William Penn, Lord Baltimore, and his lady, with their retinue; but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting; so the lady was much disappointed, as I understood by William Penn, for she told him, 'she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like rustics, for she thought they could not preach to any

purpose.' William Penn told her, 'some of these were rather the best preachers we had among us,' or near these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable, wise, and withal a courteously carriaged woman." I may observe here, that these excursions in the ministry, together with others which he undertook into the Indian country as before mentioned, and to which I may now add those which he made to support the Magistracy by his personal appearance among them, both at the quarter sessions and elsewhere, took up a considerable portion of his time, so that it is doubtful whether he was not less at Pennsbury with his family than in other places.

Writs having been issued, and a new Assembly chosen (for the old had served their year, as limited by the Charter), he summoned the new members to attend him at Newcastle on the fourteenth of October. The former had met him at Philadelphia, the capital of the Province. He thought it therefore but fair, and as showing but a proper impartiality, that these should meet him at the principal town in the Territories. On the day appointed they came together. The Governor qualified them in due form. This being done, they chose their Speaker. The Governor then informed them by a message, that he had called them together on weighty occasions. He wished them to proceed in the consideration of the new Charter or Frame of Government, which the former Assembly had discussed, but not settled. This Charter was of great consequence

both to them and their posterity. It was of no less importance to both that they should have good laws. He advised them, therefore, to revise those which had been agreed upon during his former residence among them, so that they might expunge, alter, or add, as they saw occasion. He laid before them also the necessity of a settlement of property, and of a supply for the support of the Government; and he promised them, during their endeavours to attain these objects, all the assistance in his power.

The message having been delivered, the House proceeded to business. Four Committees were appointed for the purpose of dispatching it according to the subjects it contained: namely, for drawing up a new Frame of Government; for perusing the Laws with a view to alterations, repeals, or additions; for drawing up a Bill for settling property; and for considering of a proper supply for the support of the Government. Upon these subjects they went to work, and they continued their attention to them almost exclusively to the end of the session.

They had not however made any great progress in their proceedings, before the same jealous spirit manifested itself between the Members of the Territories and those of the Province, which has been before noticed. The former had talked but lately, as before, of breaking off their political connection with the latter; but William Penn, by his wise and conciliatory deportment, had disarmed them, so as then to have staved off their intention. At this time however their jealousies were again awakened,

and this upon bare surmises. They thought a time might come, when the Province might be divided into more counties, and that an additional number of Representatives for these might be required. In this case they conceived that those for the Province might out-number them in their votes; and they actually went so far as to declare in the Assembly, that they would not consent to the confirmation of the union, but on the condition, "that at no time hereafter the number of the Representatives of the people in legislation in the Province should exceed those of the Territories; but if hereafter more counties were made in the Province, and thereby more representatives were added, that then the union should cease." To this condition the Members for the Province would not consent. Both parties however agreed to have a conference with the Governor on the subject. This conference accordingly took place. The Governor proposed, "that in all matters and things whatsoever, wherein the Territories were or should be particularly concerned in interest or privilege, distinct from the Province, then and in that case no Act, Law, or Ordinance, in any wise should pass in any Assembly in this Province, unless two parts in three of the Members of the said Territories, and the majority of the Members of the Province, should concur therein." This impartial proposal produced peace for the present, the Members for the Territories agreeing to postpone all discussion on the subject of the union to the next session.

But scarcely was this matter settled, when another was necessarily brought forward, which divided them again. In consequence of the Report of one of the Committees, it was agreed, "That a sum of money should be raised out of the Province and Territories for the Proprietary and Governor, in order to a supply for the support of the Government;" but when they came to confer upon the raising of it, they could not agree upon what should be the proportion between the Province and Territories. It was proposed, first, that three pence per pound should be laid upon all estates, both real and personal, in the Province and Territories, for this purpose. This proposition was negatived. It was then moved, that two pence in the pound, and eight shillings per head, for every freeman in the Province and Territories, should be raised. This was negatived also. It was then moved that three half pence in the pound, and six shillings per head to every freeman, should be substituted for the former mode. This was negatived also. It was then moved, that three pence per pound, and twelve shillings per head, should be collected, but that one penny per pound of what it raised in the Territories should be returned to the latter in consideration of their extraordinary charge in legislation. This was negatived also. And here it must be observed, that the Members of the Territories voted to a man exactly the reverse of what those of the Province did on every one of these occasions. In this awkward situation the supply never would have been carried,

if it had not been for the wisdom of William Penn, who had entered into all the objections on both sides with great minuteness and impartiality, and who desired a conference with the Assembly on the subject. It was proposed by him that nineteen hundred pounds should be raised in the Province and Territories, four hundred of which should be paid out of the Territories, clear of all charges of collection, and fifteen hundred out of the Province, clear of the same charges, for the support of the Government. It was immediately afterwards proposed, that one hundred pounds should be added to the aforesaid nineteen hundred, seventy-three pounds of which should be paid out of the Province, and the residue, twenty-seven pounds, out of the Territories, for the same purpose. It was proposed lastly, that the Counties should pay their proportion as follows: Philadelphia County one thousand and twenty-five pounds, Chester three hundred and twenty-five, Bucks two hundred and twenty-five, Newcastle one hundred and eighty, Kent one hundred and thirty-nine, and Sussex one hundred and six. These propositions were severally agreed to. They were then incorporated into a Bill, and in this shape brought again before the House and passed. Thus at length was completed a Law, the principle and equity of which were admitted by the discordant parties, and which *provided permanently* for *the first time* for the good government of the two federated countries.

William Penn having obtained this supply, which was more immediately wanted either than the alteration of the Charter or the revision of the Laws, was not so urgent for their determination upon the latter. These indeed were so important both to them and their posterity, that they could not well be too often or too seriously discussed. He therefore prorogued the Assembly on the twenty-seventh of November, after having kept it sitting for about six weeks.

In looking over the Journals of the Proceedings of this Session we are furnished with certain facts trifling in themselves, but which yet, as matters of curiosity, may be worth noticing. It appears first, that but very few Members absented themselves during the whole session. They used to meet twice a day for the dispatch of business, namely, at eight in the morning and three in the afternoon. They were called together by the ringing of a bell. Any Member who was half an hour behind the time was fined ten pence. Every Member had an allowance of three pence per mile for travelling charges, and six shillings a day for his attendance in Assembly. The Speaker's daily allowance was ten shillings. Aurelius Hoskins had twenty pounds for his attendance as Clerk. The Assembly was to sit in future once in three times in the Territories, and the county in which they sat to pay the expense of room, fire, and paper.

CHAPTER XIV.

A. 1701—*sets out for East Jersey to quell a riot there—extracts from a letter written on that occasion—makes a treaty with the Susquehannah and other Indians—suggests a plan of trade with them, to secure them from imposition and to improve their morals—calls the Assembly—their proceedings—issues an order to watch against invasion—renews a treaty with another tribe of Indians—account of it—being called to England, summons the Assembly again—its proceedings—several tribes of Indians come to take their leave of him—his reply to the same—signs a new Charter—constitutes and incorporates Philadelphia a city—appoints a Council of State—and a Deputy Governor—embarks for England—arrives there.*

WILLIAM PENN was with his wife and family at Pennsbury, when he received the news that a riot had taken place in East Jersey, during which some of the persons concerned in it had taken arms. It appears that a criminal had dared to put insolent questions to a Magistrate in Court, and because the Magistrate had refused to answer them the commotion had arisen. William Penn, on the receipt of the intelligence, hastened to Philadelphia, and there selected twelve of the most respectable of his own Society, with whom he was proceeding to assist

the Government in East Jersey to get the better of the insurgents; but being informed on his way that the matter had been settled, he returned home. He dispatched however a letter to his Friends in that Government, by which we see his sentiments in such cases; and that, though he was meek and tender in his nature, he could yet be firm where the cause of justice required it. He tells his Friends, that he "had received the surprising news of the practices of some East Jersians, which were as unexpected to him as dishonourable and licentious in them. It would be hard to find temper enough to balance extremes; for he knew not what punishment those rioters did not deserve, and he had rather live alone than not have such people corrigible. Their leaders should be eyed, and some should be forced to declare them by the rigour of the law; and those who were found to be such should bear the burthen of such sedition, which would be the best way to behead the body without danger. If lenitives would not do, coercives should be tried; but though men would naturally begin with the former, yet wisdom had often sanctioned the latter as remedies, which however were never to be adopted but with regret." Further on in the letter, he says, "that by being an old, and not the least pretender to East Jersey, and a neighbour in his station, if he could yet be serviceable to compose or countenance a just prosecution of such rebellious practices, let an express reach him, and,

God permitting, he would immediately take horse and go to them."

Soon after this he left Pennsbury for Philadelphia again. He met there Connoodaghtoh, King of the Susquehannah Indians; Wopaththa, King of the Shawanese; Weewhinjough, Chief of the Ganawese; and Ahookassong, brother of the Emperor of the five nations, with about forty Indians in their retinue, who came to renew the good understanding which had subsisted between him and them, by one general treaty for the whole. It is said that he received them in Council, and that many kind speeches passed between them. This was on the twenty-third of April; when it was agreed that there should be for ever after a firm and lasting peace between William Penn and his heirs, and the said Kings and Chiefs and their successors in behalf of their respective tribes; and that they should be as one head and one heart; and that they should at no time hurt, injure, or defraud each other, or suffer each other to be hurt, injured, or defrauded; but that they should be ready at all times to do justice, and perform all acts and offices of friendship and good-will to each other——that the Indians should behave themselves regularly and soberly according to the laws of Pennsylvania while they lived in it, and that they should have in return the same benefit from the said laws as the other inhabitants of it——that they should not aid or assist any other nation, whether Indians or others, that were not in amity with England and the Govern-

ment of Pennsylvania——that if any of them heard any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the Pennsylvanians, as if they had evil designs against them, (the Indians,) then such Indians should send notice thereof to William Penn, his heirs, or lieutenants, and not give credence to such reports till by these means they could be fully satisfied concerning the truth of the same; and that William Penn, his heirs, or lieutenants, should in such case do the like by them——that they should not bring nor suffer any strange nations of Indians to settle on the further side of Susquehannah, nor about Potomack river, nor in any other part of the province, but such as were there already seated, without the permission of William Penn, his heirs, or lieutenants——that for the prevention of abuses, that were too frequently put upon them in trade, William Penn, his heirs, or lieutenants, should not permit any person to traffic with them, but such as should have been first approved and authorized by an instrument under their own hands and seals, and that the Indians, on their part, should suffer no person whatsoever to trade with them, but such as should have been so licensed and approved——that they should not sell their skins, furs, or other produce, to persons out of the said province, but only to those publicly authorized to trade with them as before mentioned; and that, for their encouragement, care should be taken that they should be duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods, and at reasonable rates——that the Potomack In-

dians should have free leave to settle upon any part of Potomack river within the bounds of the province, so long as they conformed themselves to the articles of this treaty.

The treaty having been read, (by which the Conestogo Indians acknowledged and bound themselves to all the bargains for lands made between them and William Penn, as well those formerly as in the preceding year,) the parties confirmed it by mutual presents, the Indians in five parcels of skins, and William Penn in various parcels of English merchandize, and also by putting their hands and seals to the same.

Soon after this William Penn, in conformity with the said treaty, conferred with his Council as to the best means of preventing impositions on the Indians in the way of trade. After deliberation upon the subject it was resolved, that persons should *be selected for their integrity*, who should form a sort of company, with a joint stock, and who should be authorized by the Government to hold a commercial intercourse with them. These however were to be instructed to take care to keep from them spirituous liquors as much as possible. They were also to use all reasonable means to bring them to a true sense of the value of Christianity, but particularly by setting before them examples of probity and candour, and to have them instructed in the fundamentals of it. This was probably the first time that trade was expressly made subservient to morals, and to the promotion of the Christian religion.

In the month of June (the sea coast having been infested by pirates, and danger being then apprehended of French invasion) he summoned his Council again, after which the following Order appeared: "The Magistrates for the county of Sussex shall take care that a constant watch and ward be kept on the hithermost cape near Lewis; and in case any vessel appear from the sea, that may with good grounds be suspected of evil designs against any part of the Government, Ordered that the said watch shall forthwith give notice thereof, with as exact a description and account of the vessel as they possibly can, to the Sheriff of the said county, who is required immediately to dispatch a messenger express with the same to the county of Kent, from thence to be forwarded from Sheriff to Sheriff through every county, till it be brought to the Government at Philadelphia; which watch and expresses shall be a provincial charge."

In the month of July having received a letter from the King, urging him to bring the Province and Territories into union with the other Proprietary Governments for their mutual defence, he called the Assembly. They met accordingly on the first of August. He informed them in substance, that the occasion of his calling them together at this time (though it was with reluctance considering the season) was to lay before them the King's letter, requiring three hundred and fifty pounds sterling from the Government towards the fortifications intended on the frontiers of New York, and, though he might have some other matters to lay

before them, yet he deferred all till they had considered this point.

This message, which it must have been difficult for William Penn as a Quaker to communicate, as well as for those, who professed the same religious faith, to accede to, could not but disturb the Assembly. Indeed it seems to have paralyzed them. They scarcely knew what to do. They seemed to be willing to do any thing rather than to come to a conclusion upon it. They asked first to see the letter itself. When it had been shown them, they observed, that it was dated some time back. They sent therefore to the Governor to know, if he had received from the King any information since. He replied in the negative. They then requested, that he would send them a copy of his own speech. He replied, that it had not been his way so to do. They renewed their request. He then sent them his speech in substance. They applied to him to give it them more fully, "for it was somewhat short of what they apprehended needful to ground their intended address upon, no particular mention being made in the copy sent them either of the King's letter or of the sum to be raised." He returned for answer, that his speech had been delivered extempore, and that he had sent them the substance of what he recollected of it; but if they thought the particular insertion of the King's letter needful, he would order it to be inserted. After this, both parties having been in a state of unpleasant parley for four days, the Assembly sent an address to him, in

which they stated their loyalty; but represented, among other things, that "after having taken into consideration the poverty of their constituents, and the great weight and pressure of the taxes, and having reason to believe that the adjacent provinces had hitherto done nothing in this matter, they thought it right to adjourn the further consideration of the King's letter till more emergent occasions should require their proceedings therein. In the mean time they earnestly desired he would candidly represent their situation to the King, and assure him of their readiness, according to their abilities, to acquiesce with and answer his commands, so far as their religious persuasions would permit, as it became loyal and faithful subjects to do." The next afternoon the Assembly was dissolved, but at their own request, after a sitting of only six days.

William Penn upon this returned to Pennsbury to consider of the past, and to provide for the future. Here, another tribe of Indians, which had not gone down to Philadelphia with those which have been before mentioned in this chapter, came to him to renew the treaty which he had made with it after his first voyage to these parts. John Richardson, a Yorkshire Quaker, who was then travelling in America as a minister of the Gospel, happened to be at Pennsbury at the time, and to witness what was done on the occasion. He has given an account of it in his Journal, but confesses that he has omitted many particulars. Imperfect,

however, as the account is, I purpose transcribing it for the reader.

"I was," says he, "at William Penn's country-house, called Pennsbury in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, on one of which I was at a meeting and a marriage, and much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing, to my satisfaction, William Penn and many of the Indians (not the least of them) in council and consultation concerning their former covenants now again revived; all which was done in much calmness of temper and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following: one was, they *never first broke their covenants with other people;* for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, *they did not make them there in their heads;* but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said, they *made them there in their hearts.* And again, when William Penn and they had ended the most weighty parts, for which they held their Council, William Penn gave them match-coats and some other things, with some brandy and rum, or both, which was advised by the speaker for the Indians to be put into the hands of one of their Caciques, or Kings, for he knew best how to order them; which being done, the said King used no compliments, neither did the People, nor the rest of their Kings: but as the aforesaid King poured out his drams, he only made a motion with his finger, or sometimes with his eye, to the person which he intended to give the dram to: so they came quietly

and in a solid manner, and took their drams, and passed away without either nod or bow, any further than necessity required those to stoop, who were on their feet, to him who sat on the ground or floor, as their choice and manner is: and withal I observed, and also heard the like by others, that they *did not*, nor, I suppose, *never do speak two at a time*, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in all their Councils, as has been observed. Their *eating and drinking was in much stillness and quietness.*——

"When much of the matters were gone through, I put William Penn in mind to inquire of the interpreter, if he could find some terms of words that might be intelligible to them, in a religious sense, by which he might reach the understandings of the natives, and inculcate into their minds a sense of the principles of Truth, *such as Christ's manifesting himself* to the inward senses of the soul by his Light, Grace, or Holy Spirit, with the manner of the operations and working thereof in the hearts of the children of men; and how it did reprove for evil and minister peace and comfort to the soul in its obedience and well-doing: or as near as he could come to the substance of this in their own language. William Penn much pressed the matter upon the interpreter to do his best in any terms that might reach their capacities, and answer the end intended: but the interpreter would not, either by reason, as he alleged, of want of terms, or his unwillingness to meddle in religious matters, which I

know not: but I rather think the latter was the main reason which obstructed him. Therefore we found nothing was like to be done according to our desires in this matter, as the interpreter was but a dark man, and, as William Penn said, a wrong man for our present purpose.

"William Penn said, he understood they owned a Superior Power, and asked the interpreter, what their notion was of God in their own way. The interpreter showed by making several circles on the ground with his staff, till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed, as he said, by way of representation, the *Great Man* (as they termed him) in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth. And we querying what they owned as to eternity or a future state, the interpreter said, they believed, when such died, as were guilty of theft, swearing, lying, whoring, murder, and the like, they went into a very cold country, where they had neither good fat venison, nor match-coats (which is what they use instead of clothes to cover them withal, being of one piece in the form of a blanket or bed-covering); but those who died clear of the aforesaid sins, go into a fine warm country, where they had good fat venison and good match-coats (things much valued by the natives). I thought, inasmuch as these poor creatures had not the knowledge of God by the Scriptures, as we have who are called Christians, that what knowledge they had of the Supreme Being must be by an inward sensation, or

by contemplating upon the works of God in the creation, or probably from some tradition handed down from the father to the son, by which it appears they acknowledge a future state of rewards and punishments; the former of which they express by warmth, good clothing, and food; and the latter by nakedness, pining, hunger, and piercing cold.

"I have often thought and said, when I was amongst them, that generally my spirit was very easy, and I did not feel that power of darkness to oppress me as I had done in many places among the people called Christians.

"After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, *in keeping all their former articles unviolated*, and agreed that, if any particular differences did happen amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between William Penn's people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever, they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their Cantico or worship, which was done thus: First, they made a small fire, and the men without the women sat down about it in a ring; and whatsoever object they severally fixed their eyes on, I did not see them move them in all that part of their worship, while they sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were spectators. When they had thus done, they began

(as I suppose in their usual manner) to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn, followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and then the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company, as at the first; which seemed exceedingly to affect them and others. Having done, they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like triumph or rejoicing."

About this time William Penn received news from England which was very distressing. The Proprietary Governors in North America had begun to be unpopular with the Governors at home. The truth was, that the Governors at home were jealous of their increasing power, and therefore soon after the Revolution in 1688 they had formed a notion of buying them off, and of changing their Governments into regal under their own immediate controul. Conformably therefore with this idea, but under the pretence of great abuse on the one side and of national advantage on the other, a Bill for this purpose was brought into the House of Lords. Such of the owners of land in Pennsylvania as were then in England represented the hardship of their case to Parliament in the event of such a change, and solicited a respite of their proceedings till William Penn could arrive in England to appear before them, and to answer for himself as one of those whose character the Bill in question affect

Accordingly they dispatched to him an account of the whole affair, and solicited his immediate return to England. This was the substance of the news which reached him at this moment.

William Penn could not be otherwise than grieved at this intelligence. He was only then beginning as it were his intended improvements. To be called away therefore at this juncture was peculiarly distressing. To stay, on the other hand, would be to subject his Government to dissolution. He determined therefore, after a comparative view of the good and evil in both cases, to return to England, and to plead his cause before the Parliament of the Parent-Country. It was necessary, however, before he returned, that he should attend to the finishing of those Laws which were then before the Assembly, as well as to others which he might have had it in contemplation to introduce. He therefore immediately dispatched writs to the Sheriffs to call a new Assembly. This was quickly done. The members were as quickly chosen. On the fifteenth day of September they met at Philadelphia; after which, having been legally qualified, the Governor addressed them as follows:

"FRIENDS,

"You cannot be more concerned than I am at the frequency of your service in Assembly, since I am very sensible of the trouble and charge it contracts upon the Country: but the motives being considered, and that you must have met of course in the

next month, I hope you will not think it an hardship now.

"The reason that hastens your session is the necessity I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the prosperity of this Country, to go for England, where, taking advantage of my absence, some have attempted by false or unreasonable charges to undermine our Government, and thereby the true value of our labours and prosperity. Government having been our first encouragement, I confess I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctancy of mind, having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long at least with you as to render every body entirely easy and safe; for my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think: and no unkindness or disappointment shall, with submission to God's providence, ever be able to alter my love to the Country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it: but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season nor the tender circumstances of my family can over-rule my inclinations to undertake it.

"Think therefore (since all men are mortal) of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy by a nearer union of our interests.

"Review again your laws; propose new ones that may better suit your circumstances; and what you do, do it quickly; remembering that the Parliament sits the end of next month; and that the sooner I am there, the safer, I hope, we shall be here.

"I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care the King's letter to me, for the assistance of New York with 350*l.* sterling, as a Frontier-Government, and therefore exposed to a much greater expense, in proportion to other Colonies; which I called the Assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased for the reasons then given to refer to this.

"I am also to tell you the good news of the Governor of New York's happy issues of his conferences with the five nations of Indians; that he hath not only made peace with them for the King's subjects of that Colony, but, as I had by some letters before desired him, for those of all other Governments under the Crown of England on the Continent of America, as also the nations of Indians within these respective Colonies; which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

"I have done when I have told you that unanimity and dispatch are the life of business; and this I desire and expect from you for your own sakes, since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have sought the ruin of your young Country."

To this speech the Assembly returned the following reply:

"May it please the Proprietary
and Governor:

"We have this day in our Assembly read thy Speech, delivered to us yesterday in Council, and, having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us; and, at the same time, taking notice of thy paternal regard to us and our posterity, the Freeholders of this Province and Territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provision we shall offer for our safety, as well in privileges as in property, and what else may render us happy in a nearer union of our interests; not doubting the performance of what thou hast been pleased so lovingly to promise, we do in much humility, and as a token of our gratitude, render unto thee the unfeigned thanks of this House.

"Joseph Growdon, Speaker."

On the sixteenth and seventeenth the Assembly occupied themselves in forming Committees and making arrangements for the dispatch of business, when the question for raising money for the fortifications of New York was proposed to them. This, however, they negatived unanimously, alleging in justification of themselves the reasons before given.

On the twentieth they presented the Governor with an Address, containing twenty-one articles, relative to privileges and property, which they

hoped might be acceded to, and ascertained to them and their posterity in their Charter.

The first of these related to his Successor. To this he replied, that he would take care to appoint a proper person, one of unexceptionable character, and in whom he could confide, and whom he would invest with full powers for the security of all concerned; but, to show how much he wished to gratify them in this respect, he offered to accept a Deputy Governor whom they might nominate themselves. This offer they declined, but with many thanks for it; alleging, as a reason, that they did not presume to a sufficiency of knowledge to nominate such as might be duly qualified for so high an employ.

There were also nine of the articles which he acceded to in the fullest extent, and for which concession they returned him also their humble thanks.

With respect to some of the others, he negatived them at once. Among these I may notice the thirteenth and sixteenth. By the thirteenth they requested, "that all lands in the said counties, not yet taken up, might be disposed of at the *old rent of a bushel of wheat in a hundred.* His answer in writing was, 'I think this an unreasonable article, either to limit me in that which is my own, or to deprive me of the benefit of raising in proportion to the advantage which time gives to other men's properties; and the rather because I am yet in disburse for that long and expensive controversy with the Lord Baltimore, promised to be defrayed by the public as ap-

pears by the Minutes in Council.' By the sixteenth they requested, that all the Bay-marshes be laid out in common, except such as were already granted. 'This,' says he in his answer, 'I take for a high imposition: however, I am willing that they all lie in common and free until otherwise disposed of, and shall grant the same from time to time in reasonable portions, and upon reasonable terms, especially to such as shall engage to drain and improve the same, having always a regard to back inhabitants for their accommodation.'"

There were other articles in the Address, particularly the eighth and ninth relative to land contiguous to Philadelphia, which very much hurt his feelings on perusing them. It struck him, as if it might be implied from these, that he had not performed some of the promises he had made them; and he thought at the same time, that he saw in themselves an unbecoming rapacity to exact from him all they could, before he left them. To these therefore he gave much such answers as before; but besides this, at a conference he held with them in the Council-chamber, he signified to them "that in his speech on the opening of the Session he had recommended to them to consider their privileges as well as property, in which he had justly given *privileges the precedency of property, as the bulwark to secure the other:* but they in their present Address insisted not only on property alone, but upon such particulars as could *by no means be cognizable by an Assembly*, and lay only *between him and the particu-*

lars concerned; in which he had done, and always would do, to the utmost, what became an honest man to all those he agreed with——but he *would never suffer an Assembly to intermeddle with his property*, lest it should be drawn into a precedent, if it should please God a Governor should preside here, distinct from the Proprietary."

Such then was the feeling of William Penn upon this Address. It may be observed, however, as a partial justification of the Assembly, that there were some things yet undone, which should have been, and would have been, done years ago, had he not been absent from them. It is obvious too, that they were alarmed lest the Government should be put into new hands. It was time therefore that they should look to their own interests; and that they should obtain the full performance of all that had been promised to them. They were aware too, that it would be more easy for them to obtain from William Penn any additional privileges or grants, than from the Government at home, provided he was obliged to sell his authority and power. And here it was that the Assembly wounded his feelings; for, by going too far, they furnished the appearance of rapacity in themselves, as well as of claim without a right; and this error produced a shyness in some degree between them, which was discernible in the proceedings of the Session. It is much however to the honour of William Penn, that he did not allow his feelings to operate eventually to their prejudice. Satisfied with having expressed his disap-

probation of their conduct, he resumed his wonted benevolence, and therefore relaxed and modified, even in the offensive articles, so as to settle matters ultimately to the general satisfaction.

On the seventh of October, while the Assembly were sitting, several tribes of Indians came down to Philadelphia. The report that William Penn was going to England had reached their country, and they came to take leave of him, as of their great benefactor. He received them in Council. The interview is said to have been very interesting. Unfortunately, however, but few particulars have come down to us. We have only the following short account:

"William Penn told them, that the Assembly was then enacting a law, according to their (the Indians') desire, to prevent their being abused by the selling of rum among them; and that he requested them (the Indians) to unite all their endeavours and their utmost exertion, in conjunction with those of the Government, to put the said law in execution."

At the same time he informed them, "that now this was like to be his last interview with them, at least before his return——that he had always loved and been kind to them, and ever should continue so to be, not through any politic design, or on account of self-interest, but from a most real affection——and he desired them in his absence to cultivate friendship with those whom he should leave behind in authority; as they would always in some degree

continue to be so to them, as himself had ever been. ——Lastly, that he had charged the Members of Council, and he then also renewed the same charge, that they should in all respects be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good will, as himself had ever done." Here the members promised faithfully to observe the charge. Presents were then made to the Indians, who soon afterwards withdrew.

While the Assembly were proceeding in the business of the day, disagreements broke out again between the members of the Territories and those of the Province. The question being put, "whether the Bill for the confirmation of laws should pass into a law with such amendments as might be thought needful?" most of the Territory members rose up and left the House, declaring their intention of returning home. It appears, that they had been desirous of obtaining some exclusive rights for their Constituents; and that, unable to carry their point, they had taken this sudden step. In this unpleasant situation, William Penn judged it right to request a conference with them. This took place in the Council-chamber, where he received them apart from the rest of the Assembly. During its continuance he heard all their complaints and weighed their objections; but he found these, after a patient investigation, so groundless, that he could not help telling them, that "he took this their conduct very unkind even to himself in particular." They replied, that they had a great regard and even affection for him.

They had not the most distant intention of offending him; but it became them to be true to those whom they represented.

The conference having thus proved ineffectual, he called the Council together, and sent for the whole Assembly, resolving to make another effort for peace. It appears that all the members attended him, as well the seceders as those for the Province. He then told them, "that his time being short, he must come briefly to the point; that it was no small wound to him to think, that at the earnest desire of the Territories as well as the good will of the Province, he had engaged in an undertaking, which cost him between two and three thousand pounds, to unite them; and yet that they should now endanger that union, and divide, after they had been recognised as one, not only by the King's Commission to Governor Fletcher, but also by the King's letters patent for his own restoration, and the King's several letters to the Government.——He therefore would not have any thing resolved on, but what was considerate and weighty, lest it should look as unkind, and now, at his departure, make him carry a very ill report of them to England." The Territory members said in reply to this, "that they were great sufferers by the Act of Union, however it was at first intended, and that they could not support the burthen of the charge." The Governor replied, "they were free to break off, and might act distinctly by themselves." At this they seemed pleased, and indeed expressed their satisfaction: "But

then," continued he, "it must be upon amicable terms and a good understanding."——He then impressed it upon them, "that they must first resolve to settle the Laws; and that, as the interest of the Province and that of the Territories would be the same, they should both use a conduct consistent with that relation."

On the fifteenth of October the seceding members returned to the Assembly, but still remained dissatisfied. They declared to the House, "they were willing to join with the rest of the members, provided they might have liberty to enter their dissent to the Bill for the confirmation of Laws, and that nothing might be carried over their heads by over-voting them;" and declared further, "they were willing to do any thing for the good and tranquillity of the Government." After this they withdrew. Being called into the House again, they were told "they should have liberty to enter their dissent, provided they kept to the matter; but as for the House to promise not to over-vote them, it was a thing so impracticable, and such an infringement of the privileges of Assemblies, that they could not yield to that." In this situation both parties continued, when the Governor directed the following letter to the Speaker, with a request that it might be communicated to the whole House:

"Frrends,

"Your union is what I desire, but your peace and accommodating one another is what I must expect from you. The reputation of it is something; the

reality is much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: Yield *in circumstantials to preserve essentials;* and, being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad when I am going to leave you, since it is for you, as well as for

"Your Friend and Governor,

"WILLIAM PENN."

This letter had the effect of producing a reconciliation between the parties concerned; and the Governor promising further, that he would make a provision in the Charter for a conditional separation from each other, if they chose it, within the space of three years, they continued to act in harmony for the remainder of the Session.

By this time the Assembly had finished the greater part of the business which had been submitted to their consideration, particularly in the department of the Laws. The following is a list of those which they had finally passed, and in the order in which they were severally confirmed: An Act for Liberty of Conscience—against Riots and Rioters—Adultery and Fornication—Rape—Incest and Bestiality—Bigamy—Robbing and Stealing—taking away Canoes and Boats—breaking into Houses—firing of Houses—forcible Entry—Menacing, Assault, and Battery—Murder—Sedition, the spreading false News, and Defamation—removing Landmarks—defacing Charters—for County Seals, and against counterfeiting Hands and Seals—for regulating the Interest of Money—for Privileges

of a Freeman—against buying Land of the Natives—for punishing petty Offences—for the Names of the Days and Months of the Year—for the better Provision of the Poor within the Province and Territories—for recording of Deeds—for preventing clandestine Marriages—for binding to the Peace—for limiting Presentments of the Grand Jury—for ascertaining the Number of Members of Assembly, and regulating Elections—about Attachments—for Naturalization—for ascertaining the Descent of Lands and the better Disposition of the Estates of Persons intestate—for raising County Levies—for Directing the Attests of sundry Officers and Ministers, with Amendments about Attorneys' Fees—for the better Attendance of the Justices within the Province and Territories—against Jurors absenting, when lawfully summoned—on determining Debts under Forty Shillings—to prevent immoderate Fines—about Defalcation—against speaking in Derogation of Courts—for the appraisement of Goods—against Barrators—to oblige Witnesses to give Evidence, and to prevent False-swearing—for the Confirmation of Devises of Lands and Validity of nuncupative Wills—to prevent the grievous Sins of Cursing and Swearing—to prevent Duelling—to empower Widows and Administrators to sell so much of the Lands of Intestates as may be sufficient to clear their Debts—for the Preservation of the Person of the Proprietary and Governor—for taking Lands in Execution where the Sheriffs cannot come at other Effects to satisfy the same—for the better regulating of Ser-

vants—for erecting and establishing a Post-office—for the Assize of Bread—for Priority of Payments to the Inhabitants of this Government—for regulating of Streets and Water-courses in the Cities and Towns—to prevent Accidents which may happen by Fire in the Towns of Bristol, Philadelphia, Germantown, Derby, Chester, Newcastle, and Lewis, with the words "Hooks provided"—to empower Justices to lay out and confirm all Roads, except the King's Highways—for regulating and maintaining Fences—for erecting Bridges and maintaining Highways—against Weirs across Creeks and Rivers—against unseasonable Firing of Woods—for erecting and regulating the Prices of Ferries—for the Trial of Negroes—to prevent sickly Vessels coming into this Government—for the Sittings of Orphans' Courts—for requiring all Masters of Vessels to make report at the Town of Newcastle—for levying of Fines—about Departures out of the Province—against mixing and adulterating strong Liquors—against Scolding—about killing of Wolves—concerning Bills of Exchange—for regulating Money Weights and for Stamping the same—for appointing the Rate of Money or Coin, and for preventing the Clipping of the same—for regulating Weights and Measures—to prevent the Sale of ill-tanned Leather, and working the same into Shoes and Boots—for keeping a Register in religious Societies—for viewing of Pipe Staves—against keeping Inns or Public-houses without Licence—for the Dimensions of Casks, and true Packing of

Meat—about cutting Timber Trees—against Drunkenness and drinking Healths—for bailing Prisoners and about Imprisonment—against Pirates and Sea Robbers—for granting an Impost on Wine, Rum, and Beer—for raising One Penny per Pound and Six Shillings per Head for the Support of Government—for raising and granting to the Proprietary and Governor the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds upon the clear Value of all real and personal Estates, and upon the Polls of all Freemen within the Province and Territories—for effectually establishing and confirming the Freeholders of the same, their Heirs and Assigns, in their Lands and Tenements—for erecting a Bridge at Chester—for Country Produce to be current Payment—against selling Rum to the Indians.——After these some other Laws were passed by the Assembly, making up, with those whose titles have been recited, the number of one hundred.

With respect to the new Charter or Frame of Government, upon which so much attention had been bestowed by a Committee of the Assembly, it was produced, read, and approved. It agreed with that of 1696 in the following particulars: Each County was to send four Members to the Assembly, but this number might be enlarged afterwards as circumstances might require.—The Assembly also were allowed to propose Bills, to appoint Committees, and to sit upon their own Adjournments. Among the new articles it contained I may notice, first, That if persons through temptation or melan-

choly should destroy themselves, their estates were not to be forfeited, but to descend to their wives and children and relations, as if they had died a natural death; and, secondly, That in case the Representatives of the Province and those of the Territories should not hereafter agree to join together in Legislation, they were allowed, by proper signification of the same, to separate within three years from the date of the Charter; but they were to enjoy the same privileges when separated as when connected.

The Assembly having finished the business before them, William Penn on the twenty-eighth of October signed the above Charter in the Council-chamber in the midst of the Council and Assembly, both of whom united in returning him thanks, as appears by the following document:

"This Charter of Privileges having been distinctly read in Assembly, and the whole and every part thereof having been approved and agreed to by us, we do thankfully receive the same from our Proprietary and Governor, this twenty-eighth day of October, 1701."

Signed by Edward Shippen, Thomas Story, and others of the Governor's Council;

And by Joseph Growdon, on behalf and by order of the Assembly.

On the same day he appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal a Council of State, consisting of Edward Shippen, Thomas Story, and eight other persons, for the Government of the Province and

Territories, to assist him or his Lieutenant with their advice in public affairs; and to exercise, in his own absence or in case of the death or incapacity of his Lieutenant, the powers of Government for the same.

On the twenty-ninth, the ship which was to carry him to England being ready to sail, he convened the inhabitants of Philadelphia, in order to leave with them a particular memorial of his good-will towards them. He presented them with a Charter of Privileges, by which Philadelphia was constituted a City, and incorporated. The Corporation was to consist of a Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, a Recorder, Sheriff, Town Clerk, and other Officers, and to have the Title of The Mayor and Commonalty of Philadelphia. This Charter he had prepared and signed on the twenty-fifth, and he had taken care to appoint all those whom he most approved of to the different stations belonging to it. Thus he appointed Edward Shippen the first Mayor, and Thomas Story the first Recorder; all of whom he saw in their respective offices before he departed.

On the thirtieth he appointed Andrew Hamilton, who had been some time Governor both of East and West Jersey, as his Deputy Governor; and having put him into his place, and introduced him to the Council, he embarked the next day with his wife and family, after having staid in Pennsylvania about two years; during which, according to the account of his Life, written by Besse, prefixed to the Collection of his Works, "he had applied himself to

the offices of Government, always preferring the good of the Country and its Inhabitants to his own private interest, rather remitting than rigorously exacting his lawful revenues, so that under the influence of his paternal administration he left the Province in an easy and flourishing condition." It appears that he was only about six weeks on his passage, and that he arrived at Portsmouth about the middle of December.

CHAPTER XV.

A. 1702-3—carries up the Address of the Quakers to Queen Anne—writes "Considerations upon the Bill against occasional Conformity"—also "More Fruits of Solitude"—also a Preface to "Vindiciæ Veritatis"—and another to "Zion's Travellers comforted"—affairs of Pennsylvania.

THE facts related of William Penn become now so very scanty, that I shall be obliged from this time to throw two or three years of his life into one chapter.

He had not been long in England before he found that the Bill which was to turn the North American into Regal Governments had been entirely dropped, so that he had crossed the Atlantic for nothing. It was however a consolation to him to know, that the evil on account of which he had come to England, and the removal of which was likely to have cost him much anxiety, pain, and trouble, had been removed.

Not long after this, King William died, and Queen Anne succeeded him. William Penn was in great favour with this princess, and occasionally attended her Court. She received him always in a friendly manner, and was pleased with his conversation on American concerns. He was employed also in carrying up to her an Address from the

Quakers, to thank her for her declaration that she would maintain the Act of Toleration in favour of Dissenters. The Queen spoke to him very kindly on this occasion, and, having read the Address, added, "Mr. Penn! I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, that you and your Friends may be assured of my protection."

At this time he and his family were in lodgings at Kensington. Here he wrote a little tract, contained in a sheet of paper, called "Considerations upon the Bill against occasional Conformity," which Bill had then been introduced into the House of Commons.

He wrote also "More Fruits of Solitude." This was a second part to "Some Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of human Life," published in 1683. The reflections and maxims in both parts amounted to eight hundred and fifty.

He removed from Kensington to Knightsbridge the next year. While at the latter place, he wrote two interesting prefaces to two books. The first of these was "Vindiciæ Veritatis; or, An occasional Defence of the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers; in Answer to a Treatise by John Stillingfleet, a Clergyman in Lincolnshire, miscalled Seasonable Advice against Quakerism." The other was a collection of Charles Marshall's writings, called "Zion's Travellers comforted."

With respect to America, he received no intelligence from thence but what was distressing. It appears that Governor Hamilton had summoned the Assembly, and that the members for the Territories had come down to Philadelphia in consequence, and had met him in the Council-chamber; but that they had refused to meet in Assembly, or to act in legislation with those for the Province. They objected to the last Charter. William Penn, they said, had signed this at a Board of Council, and not in Assembly, for the Assembly had been dissolved the day before. The Charter therefore was not binding upon them, for they were then no House. Besides, the members for the Province had been elected by writs, which were conformable in point of time with the said Charter; but they themselves had been elected not till some time after. They could not therefore sit in Assembly with the former; for by so doing they would acknowledge the said Charter, the writs upon which the said members were elected being grounded upon it.

The Governor made a reply to them; but his arguments, forcible as they were, did not avail. In the course however of five or six weeks he succeeded in bringing them and the members for the Province together, but it was in the Council-chamber only: and here the communication which he had to make to them was not likely to conciliate either of them; for he revived the old subject of fear of invasion, and proposed at the instigation of

Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New York, a junction with his province to fortify the frontier of Albany, and recommended also the raising of a militia among them. The result was, that both parties with one accord declined acting together in their legislative capacity. "They humbly craved leave to inform the Governor, that they could find no method to form themselves into an Assembly, the same stops and objections lying in the way as before."

Twice after this the Governor brought them together, but with no better success; when he dismissed them, hoping that by sending an account of their proceedings to England some expedient might be devised by William Penn, which might lead to their union. This however was but a vain hope; for when they parted on their dismissal they parted for ever in legislation, the Territory members determining to hold a separate Assembly within their own borders.

The members for the Province, being now left to themselves, addressed the Governor, requesting that, according to the Charter, by which a provision had been made, in case of the separation which had taken place, they might hold an Assembly by the addition of four members for each county and two for Philadelphia, which was now incorporated. This the Governor signified his intention to comply with: but in the interim he died.

On the death of Governor Hamilton, the Government of the Province and Territories devolved

upon Edward Shippen, who was President of the Council. He summoned the Assembly for the Province in October. They met accordingly, and performed the business of the Session: immediately after which a dispute arose between them and the Governor and Council; for, when the latter proposed to confer with the Assembly about a proper time to meet again, the Assembly assumed the power of adjourning wholly to themselves; and when an objection was made to this extent of their claim of sitting wholly upon their own adjournments, they immediately adjourned themselves to the first of May next, without giving Governor or Council any further time to confer with them on the subject.

CHAPTER XVI.

A. 1704-5-6-7-8—*writes a Preface to "The written Gospel-Labours of John Whitehead"—travels as a minister into the West of England—writes a General Letter to the Society—is involved in a law-suit with the Executors of his Steward—obtains no redress in Chancery—obliged in consequence to live within the Rules of the Fleet—affairs of Pennsylvania.*

In the year 1704 we know very little of William Penn, only that he continued to reside at Knightsbridge, and that, while there, he wrote a Preface to "The written Gospel-Labours of John Whitehead."

In 1705 he travelled as a minister to the western parts of the kingdom. It is said that during his journey "he had good service, and that his testimony was effectual to the reformation of many." Soon after this he wrote the following short letter, which he addressed to the Quakers generally: "Hold all your meetings in that which set them up, the heavenly power of God, both ministers and hearers, and live under it and not above it, and the Lord will give you dominion over that which seeks to draw you again into captivity to the spirit of this world under divers appearances, that the Truth may shine through you in righteousness and holi-

ness, in self-denial, long-suffering, patience, and brotherly kindness: so shall you approve yourselves the redeemed of the Lord, and his living witnesses in and to an evil generation. So prays your Friend and Brother through the many tribulations that lead to the kingdom of God.

In 1706 he removed with his family to a house near Brentford, where he continued for some time.

In 1707 he was unhappily involved in a law-suit with the executors of one Ford, who had been formerly his steward. He considered the demands of these to be so unreasonable, as to feel himself bound by justice to resist them.

In the course of 1708 his cause was determined: but "though many thought him aggrieved, it was attended, it is said, by such circumstances, that the Court of Chancery did not think it proper to relieve him." This issue must have been very distressing to him, not only because it was entirely unexpected, but because a man of his delicate feelings must have supposed that his character would suffer in consequence of it. But, besides, he was under the painful necessity of dwelling within the Rules of the Fleet* till such time as the pecuniary part of the matter could be settled.

As to his American affairs, it appears that he had appointed John Evans Deputy Governor, with the

* It is probable that from this circumstance Edmund Burke, in his "Account of the European Settlements in America," derived the mistaken notion that William Penn died in the Fleet prison.

Queen's approbation, on the death of Andrew Hamilton. It was the first effort of Evans to try to make up the differences between the members for the Territories and those for the Province. He succeeded in bringing them once more together, and the speech he made to them was such as to dispose the members for the Territories towards a reunion; but those for the Province, who had so long witnessed the refractory behaviour of the latter, refused all further connection with them. The consequence was, that they parted finally.

Having thus failed in his attempt at negotiation, he convened the Assembly of the Province, with which he transacted the public business as a distinct body, and after this the Assembly of the Territories, which he met at Newcastle, distinct in like manner, for the management of the Territory concerns.

By this time he had become unpopular with the members for the Province. He had refused to pass three Bills, relating to the Charter and to Property, without certain Amendments; and he had published a Proclamation to raise a militia among those whose religious scruples did not hinder them from bearing arms. This unpopularity became at length so great, that they drew up a private Remonstrance against him, and sent it to England to William Penn; in which, it is said, they reflected upon William Penn himself, and also upon James Logan, who was the public Secretary to the Government.

Early in 1705 Governor Evans convened the same Assembly. In his address to them he stated how much the Proprietary had been grieved with the Remonstrance he had received. "Gentlemen," says he, "the Proprietary is so far from agreeing with your opinion in these matters, that he is greatly surprised to see, instead of suitable supplies for the maintenance of Government, and defraying public charges for the public safety, time only lost (*while his constant expenses run on*) in disputes upon heads which he had as fully settled before his departure as the best precautions could enable him.

"The Proprietary also further assures us, that had the three Bills been passed into Acts here without the Amendments, they would certainly have been vacated by Her Majesty, being looked on by men of skill, to whom they were shown, as great absurdities.

"If the Remonstrance was the act of the people truly represented, then it was the Proprietary's opinion, that such a proceeding was sufficient to cancel all obligations of care over them; but if done by particular persons only, and it was an imposture in the name of the whole, he expected the Country would purge themselves, and take care that due satisfaction was given him."

He added, "that the Proprietary (*who, it was well known, had hitherto supported this Government*) had been frequently solicited, upon the treatment he had met with, to resign and throw up all without any further care; but his tenderness to

those in the place, whom he knew to be still true and honest, prevailed with him to give the people yet an opportunity of showing what they would do before all was brought to a closing period; but that he would be justified by all reasonable men for withdrawing the exercise of his care over those who, being so often invited to it, took so little of themselves."

Soon after this, Governor Evans, not being able to make an impression upon the Assembly, dissolved it, and at the time fixed by Charter he called a new one. During the sittings of the latter there was a better understanding on both sides, and several Laws were passed: but before the end of the year he became obnoxious to several of the most respectable of its members; for he had joined with the Assembly for the Territories in some acts which seemed to have been rather levelled against the interest of the Province than to answer any good end. He had treated, too, the religious scruples of the Quakers against war as groundless and absurd; and he had exhibited, as a man, a looseness and levity of character which was disgusting to a serious-minded people.

In the year 1706 Governor Evans completed his unpopularity by two extraordinary acts. In order to succeed in his project of a militia he created a false alarm. It was contrived that a messenger should be sent to him from Newcastle to Philadelphia, at the time of the Fair, to inform him that a number of vessels were then actually in the river for

the purpose of invasion. Upon this news Evans acted his part. He sent his emissaries to spread consternation through the city, while he himself with a drawn sword rode through the streets in apparently great agitation of mind, and entreated and commanded by turns persons of all ranks to assist him in this emergency. The plot, having been thus executed, operated differently upon different people. Some fled; others buried their property; and others took up arms. Among the latter were only four Quakers. Soon after this the imposition was discovered; and the consequence was, that he lost the good opinion of the Quakers and of many others from that day.

The other transaction was as follows: The Assembly for the Territories had passed a Law, on the suggestion of Evans, for the building of a Fort at Newcastle; and they had enacted also, that all vessels coming from sea up the Delaware should pay a certain tax; and that all masters of vessels, whether going up or down the River, should drop anchor at the Fort, and report their vessels, and get leave to pass, under a penalty of five pounds and so much for every shot fired at them in case of neglect. This law made him unpopular throughout the Province. The people there considered it as an infraction of the Royal Charter, which gave them a right to the free use of the River and Bay without obstruction from any quarter whatever; and they were determined to resist it. Accordingly, after the Fort had been built and the exactions paid by many, three

Quakers, Richard Hill who was one of the Council, and Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston, men of the first station and character, went on board a sloop belonging to Hill, and sailed down the River, and dropt anchor a little before they came to the Fort. Norris and Preston then landed to inform the Officers in it, that the vessel had been regularly cleared; after which they returned to her. When they got on board, Hill took the command of the sloop, stood to the helm, and passed the Fort, and this without receiving any damage, though a constant firing was kept up, and though the guns were pointed in such a direction that a shot went through the mainsail. As soon as the sloop was clear of the Fort, John French, the commander of it, put off in a boat, manned and armed, to bring her to. When he came alongside, Hill ordered a rope to be thrown to him; upon which he fastened the boat, and then went on board. Upon this, Hill cut the rope, and the boat falling astern, he conducted French a prisoner to the cabin, and sailed away with him to Lord Cornbury, who happened then to be at Salem, a little lower down on the Jersey side of the river. Lord Cornbury, having reprimanded French, dismissed him. Soon after this, Hill, accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, attended the General Assembly, and laid a Petition before them. The consequence was, that the Assembly presented an Address to the Governor, in which they reprobated the Law in question without one dissenting

voice, and this in so strong a manner that no proceedings of the like nature were continued.

These transactions together made such a rupture between Evans and the Assembly, that there was nothing but jarring between them afterwards; so that when Evans sent to the Assembly the draught of a Bill, which he supposed necessary, the Assembly immediately rejected it; and when the Assembly proposed another in its stead, Evans rejected it in his turn, remarking that it broke in upon the Proprietary's powers of Government, and his just interests and rights.

This opposition of the Governor to the Bill of the Assembly, and his remarks upon it, very much displeased them; and, as if they had something to let out by way of revenge, but no one to vent it upon, they brought against James Logan, one of the Council and the public Secretary of the Government, a number of accusations, which they styled articles of impeachment: but here they were foiled; for through Evans's management, and his protection of Logan, they were not able to effect any thing against the latter either by way of censure or removal from office.

Having been now twice worsted, they drew up in 1707 a Remonstrance, a second time, against Governor Evans, and sent it to William Penn. It was a sort of catalogue of the particulars of his mal-administration, which included the false alarm, the story of the sloop and the Fort as before mentioned, and twelve other charges.

On the first of October, the day of election according to the Charter, the choice falling upon most of the old members, there was the same want of cordiality, or rather the same discord, between the parties as before; so that very little was done in that session.

In the beginning of 1708, William Penn, having received the second remonstrance of the Assembly against Governor Evans, also letters from the latter in his own vindication, as well as several from others, who took their respective sides as they felt themselves influenced by facts and circumstances, took the case into his most serious consideration, with a determination to do justice to all parties, and at the same time to consult the true interest and welfare of the Province. The result was, that he found himself under the necessity of recalling Governor Evans. Accordingly a letter was dispatched to him to this effect. It reached him in due time at Philadelphia, and he left his Deputy Government in consequence in the same year.

CHAPTER XVII.

A. 1709–10–11–12—*is obliged to mortgage his Province—causes of this obligation—travels again in the ministry—writes a Preface to the "Discourses of Bulstrode Whitelocke"—constitution begins to break—removes to Rushcomb in Berkshire—determines upon parting with his Province—but is prevented by illness—writes a Preface to the "Works of John Banks"—has three apoplectic fits—affairs of Pennsylvania.*

In 1709 William Penn submitted to a painful act for the sake of justice. His pecuniary embarrassments were such as to oblige him to mortgage his Province of Pennsylvania for 6,600*l.* The money was advanced him by his friends, but principally by those who were of his own religious Society.

One of the most remote causes of his embarrassment, indeed the great and continually operating one, was the expenditure of money for the good of the Province, without those pecuniary returns to which he was entitled. Oldmixon, who was cotemporary with him, and who published his "Account of the British Empire in America" only the preceding year, speaks on the subject thus: "We shall not enter into any enquiries into the causes of the trouble that has been given Mr. Penn lately about the Province of Pennsylvania; it appears to us, by

what we have heard of it from others, for from himself we never had any information concerning it, that he has been involved in it by his bounty to the Indians, his generosity in minding the public affairs of the Colony more than his own private ones, his humanity to those who have not made suitable returns, his confidence in those who have betrayed him, and the rigour of the severest equity, a word that borders the nearest to injustice of any. 'Tis certainly the duty of this Colony to maintain the Proprietary, who has laid out his all for the maintenance of them, in the possession of his Territory; and public gratitude ought to make good what they reap the benefit of. This is all said out of justice to the merit of this gentleman, otherwise it would have been without his consent." But though this was the first and great cause; yet that which added to it, and brought on the present distress, was the unexpected demand of the executors of his steward Ford, and the issue of the suit in Chancery as before mentioned. It appears, from the best information I have been able to collect on this subject, that William Penn had behaved to Ford during his lifetime with great kindness and liberality; and that, not suspecting one whom he had both so eminently trusted and served, he had incautiously and without due inspection put his hand to papers, as mere matters of course, which his steward had laid before him to sign. Hence the law could give him no relief. But whatever was the history of the transaction, the steward lost his reputation by it. James

Logan, who was Secretary to the Government of Pennsylvania, and who knew the whole of the case, and who had occasion to allude to it in a manuscript found after his death, stigmatizes the act by "the fraud and treachery of his steward," and in the same language it was generally spoken of at the time.

Having raised the money, and thereby removed some of his difficulties, he travelled as a minister of the Gospel to the West of England, and visited also in the same capacity the counties of Berks, Buckingham, and Surry, and other places. He wrote this year "Some Account of the Life and Writings of Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq. prefixed to his Memorials of English Affairs to the End of the Reign of King James the First, now published from his original Manuscript." William Penn had for many years been acquainted with this great and venerable person.

In this year we first hear of the failure of his constitution. It is noticed by Besse, the author of the first History of his Life, who says that the infirmities of old age began to visit him, and to lessen his wonted powers. It is noticed also by Oldmixon, in his second edition of his account of the British Empire in America, who speaks thus: "The troubles that befel Mr. Penn in the latter part of his life are of a nature too private to have a place in a public history. He trusted an ungrateful, unjust agent too much with the management of it; and, when he expected to have been thousands of pounds

the better for it, found himself thousands of pounds in debt; insomuch that he was restrained of his liberty within the privilege of the Fleet, by a tedious and unsuccessful law-suit; which, together with age, broke his spirits not easy to be broken, and rendered him incapable of business and society as he was wont to have been in the days of his health and vigour both of body and mind."

This intelligence respecting his health, though it bursts thus suddenly upon us, ought not to surprise us. It is not wonderful, that symptoms of decline should have begun to show themselves in his constitution, at the age of sixty-seven, and more particularly when we consider the distressing scenes he experienced in this and the preceding year. In the former year he had to contrast his own unsuspicious and generous conduct with the treachery of his steward. He had to lament the failure of his suit in Chancery, both as it embarrassed his pecuniary affairs, and as it might injure his reputation. He had the mortification to see himself a prisoner within the limits of the Fleet. He had been afflicted by the renewal and continuation of bitter dissentions between the Assembly of Pennsylvania and his Deputy Governor. He had been under the painful task of removing the latter; and in the present year he had been compelled to mortgage his Province. These were causes which could not but have affected him. Religion and philosophy have undoubtedly the power of blunting the edge of our afflictions, and of making them more bearable; but

they cannot alter the law of our mortality, or secure us from that decay to which we are liable from our nature.

For 1710 we have but a slender account of his proceedings. We trace him once at the Prime Minister's, Robert Harley, afterward Earl of Oxford, with whom he was very intimate, and at whose house he then dined: but the air near London not suiting his declining constitution, he took a handsome seat at Rushcomb, near Twiford, in Berkshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life. After his removal to this place we find him at Reading Monthly Meeting, for he signed among others the testimony concerning Oliver Sansom there.

In 1711 he went to London for a few days. He was seen at Whitehall, attended by several of the Society. He had gone in company with these to wait upon the Duke of Ormond on his return from his Lord Lieutenancy in Ireland, to thank him for his kindness towards his fellow-members during his administration there. In this year the works of one of his ancient Friends, John Banks, being ready for the press, he dictated to a person, as he walked up and down the room with a cane in his hand, an excellent Preface to the same, which was the *last piece he ever published*, and which carried with it its own evidence, that it could have been written by no other than a highly experienced Christian. It ran thus:

"FRIENDLY READER,

"The labours of the servants of God ought always to be precious in the eyes of his people, and

for that reason the very fragments of their services are not to be lost, but to be gathered up for edification; and that is the cause why we expose the following Discourses to public view: and I hope it will please God to make them effectual to such as seriously peruse them, since we have always found the Lord ready to second the services of his worthies upon the spirits of the readers, not suffering that which is his own to go without a voucher in every conscience, I mean those divine truths it has pleased him to reveal among his children by his own blessed Spirit, without which no man can rightly perceive the things of God, or be truly spiritually minded, which is life and peace. And this indeed is the only beneficial evidence of heavenly truths, which made that excellent apostle say in his day, *We know that we are of God, and that the whole world lieth in wickedness:* for in that day true Religion and undefiled before God and the Father consisted in visiting the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, and keeping unspotted from the world, not only a godly tradition of what others have enjoyed, but the experimental enjoyment and knowledge thereof, by the operation of the Divine Power in their own hearts, which makes up the inward Jew and accomplished Christian, whose praise is not of men, but of God: such are Christians of Christ's making, that can say with the apostle, It is not we that live, but Christ that liveth in us, dying daily to self, and rising up, through faith in the Son of God, to newness of life. Here

formality bows to reality, memory to feeling, letter to spirit, and form to power; which brings to the regeneration, without which no man can inherit the kingdom of God; and by which he is enabled in every estate to cry Abba Father. Thou'lt see a great deal of this in the following author's writings; and that he rightly began with a just distinction between true wisdom and the fame of wisdom, what was of God and taught of God, and of man and taught by man, which at best is a sandy foundation for religion to be built upon, or rather the faith and hope of man in reference to religion, and salvation by it. And O that none who make profession of the dispensation of the Spirit may build beside the work of Jesus Christ in their own souls, in reference to his prophetical, priestly, and kingly office, in which regard God his Father gave him as a tried stone, elect and precious, to build by and upon; concerning which great and glorious truth we do most humbly beseech the Almighty, who is God of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of Lights and Spirits, to ground and establish all his visited and convinced ones, that they may grow up an holy house and building to the Lord; so shall purity, peace, and charity abound in the house and sanctuary that he hath pitched and not man.

" Now as to this worthy man, the author of the following treatises, I hope I may without offence say, his memorial is blessed, having known him above forty years an heavenly minister of experimental religion, of a sound judgment and pious

practice, valiant for the Truth upon the earth, and ready to serve all in the love and peace of the Gospel. He was amongst the first in Cumberland that received the glad tidings of it, and then readily gave up, with other brethren, to declare to others what the Lord had done for their souls.

"Thus I first met him; and as I received his testimony through the Saviour of life, so I was kindly accepted and encouraged by him in the belief of the blessed testimony of the light, spirit, grace, and truth of Christ in the inward parts, reproving, instructing, reforming, and redeeming those souls from the evil of the world, that were obedient thereunto. Here he was a strength to my soul, in the early days of my convincement, together with his dear and faithful friend, brother, and fellow-traveller, John Wilkinson of Cumberland, formerly a very zealous and able Independent minister.

"And as I hope this piece of labour of our ancient friend and brother will find acceptance every where among God's people, so I hope it will be more especially acceptable in the North, where he began and had his early services; and in the West, where they were witnesses of his care to preserve good order in the church.

"Now, reader, before I take my leave of thee, let me advise thee to hold thy religion in the Spirit, whether thou prayest, praisest, or ministrest to others; go forth in the ability God giveth thee; presume not to awaken thy beloved before his time; be not thy own in thy performances, but the Lord's;

and thou shalt not hold the truth in unrighteousness, as too many do, but according to the oracle of God, that will never leave nor forsake them who will take counsel at it; which that all God's people may do, is and hath long been the earnest desire and fervent supplication of their and thy faithful Friend in the Lord Jesus Christ,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"London, 23d of the 12th month, 1711."

It appears that he also wrote about this time an Introduction (entitled An Epistle to the Reader) to some Discourses of his before-mentioned much valued Friend, Bulstrode Whitelocke, which were published this year.

In 1712 he made up his mind to part with his Province to Government; for which he asked the sum of 20,000*l.* Queen Anne referred his demand to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who were to report to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. An agreement was made in consequence for 12,000*l.*; but the bad and dangerous state of his health during this year prevented the execution of it. He was seized at distant times with three several fits said to be apoplectic, the latter of which was so severe that it was with difficulty that he survived it. It so shattered his understanding and memory, that he was left scarcely fit to manage at times the most trifling of his private concerns.

As to his American affairs, after the recall of Evans he appointed Charles Gookin his Deputy Governor, to whom he gave letters of introduction to his Friends in Philadelphia, expressive of his excellent character. Gookin, it appears, arrived there in 1709, and while the Assembly were sitting. They presented him almost immediately with an Address, in which "they congratulated his seasonable accession to the Government." This Address was however extremely injudicious in the latter part of it; for, instead of passing over all subjects connected with former disputes, so that at least their first act might breathe the spirit of peace and good will, they brought to his notice what they called their old grievances with an expectation of redress from him, and this in matters of which it would have been but fair to presume he could have known nothing, and which it was totally out of his power to remedy.

This Address produced the effect which it was natural to expect from it; for, first, it offended the Governor at the very outset of his public career. It would have proved, he said, a much greater satisfaction to him, if at this first time of his speaking to them he had had nothing to take notice of but what he himself might have had to lay before them. The Council too took umbrage at the Address, on account of expressions in it, which they supposed the Assembly had levelled against them, particularly the words "evil counsel:" and they complained to the Governor accordingly; They of all others, they said,

least merited this reproach, who had served the State with their best advice for years, *without ever having received salary, or allowance, or office of profit of any kind.* Thus unhappily all their animosities were at their first intercourse with each other revived.

In June Governor Gookin, in consequence of letters from the Queen, who had fitted out an expedition for the retaking of Newfoundland and the capture of Canada, convened the Assembly. He requested of them a hundred and fifty soldiers, as the quota for the Province; but as many of the inhabitants were hindered by their principles from bearing arms, he engaged, if they would vote the sum of four thousand pounds for this purpose, to raise and equip the men. The Assembly replied, that "were it not that the raising of money to hire men to fight, or kill one another, was matter of conscience to them and against their religious tenets, they should not be wanting according to their abilities to contribute to those designs. They expressed however their loyalty to the Queen, and added, that, though they could not conscientiously comply with her request, yet out of gratitude to her they had resolved to present her with five hundred pounds." With this proposal the Governor was dissatisfied. Messages passed in consequence between him and the Assembly; when the latter, to get rid of them, adjourned to the middle of August.

The adjournment had not elapsed when the Governor convened them again. The old as well

as new topics were now started. Among the latter he informed them, that there was no provision for his (the Deputy Governor's) support, a burthen which the Proprietor, in consequence of his hard treatment from some whom he had too far trusted (Ford), was not able of himself to bear. Upon this the Assembly added three hundred to the five hundred pounds before voted to the Queen, and two hundred toward the maintenance of the Governor: but this they did not do without stating, that they expected him to call James Logan to account, as well as to concur in the passing of certain Bills, which had been prepared by former Assemblies and agreed to by the present. The Governor replied, that his instructions would not allow him to agree to Bills which broke in either upon the Proprietary's power of government or his just interest; but he advised them to reconsider the Bills in question, and he would pass all those which he could conscientiously sanction.

The Assembly at their next Session, instead of reconsidering the Bills as had been recommended to them in the preceding, pressed them upon the Governor in their former objectionable shape; the consequence of which was, that he refused to pass them. It appeared too by his speech on the occasion, that he was not allowed to pass any Bill without the approbation of the Council. This declaration inflamed the Assembly again. They immediately sent him a Remonstrance, in which they pronounced the restriction, which had been

put upon him, to be contrary to the Royal Charter; and they inveighed against James Logan as the author of all their grievances; so that this Session ended also to the irritation of both parties, and to the profit of neither.

In October a new election took place, when the same members were mostly returned. The Governor pressed upon them a provision for the Lieutenancy of the Government. He entreated them, though he wished to take no retrospect of what was past, to abstain from all irritating expressions in their Addresses, such as those of *evil counsel*, *grievances*, and *oppressions*, words which he was sure were understood by none of them practically. With respect to James Logan, he had read his written defence, in which he charged their own Speaker with proceedings, which, if true, would require the consideration of the House. To this they replied, that they had it under consideration to make a proper provision for the Deputy Governor's support; but according to the fundamental laws of the English Constitution, they were not obliged to contribute to the support of that Administration which afforded them no redress when their rights were violated. They then repeated all the irritating expressions before mentioned, which they justified; and contended, that if he (the Deputy Governor) believed Logan's charges against their Speaker, he ought not to have approved of the latter when they had chosen him. After this the Governor went to

Newcastle, to preside over the Assembly for the Territories there.

In November the Assembly for the Province met again. James Logan, who was going to England for a time, petitioned them that he might be tried upon the impeachment of a former Assembly in 1706. Upon this they resolved to take into consideration his defence as well as charge against their own Speaker: but instead of going properly into either, they issued a warrant, signed by their own Speaker, for apprehending and putting Logan in gaol. This they issued for his offence in reflecting upon sundry members of the House in particular, and the whole House in general; but by a supersedeas from the Governor the execution of it was prevented. The Assembly in return pronounced the supersedeas an illegal and arbitrary measure: and hence the animosities on both sides were continued with renewed vigour.

James Logan, after this, proceeded to England, where he arrived early in 1710. He was the bearer of all these unpleasant proceedings to William Penn, before whom he cleared himself to entire satisfaction. The news which he carried him would have been distressing at any time, but more particularly at the present, when his constitution had begun so materially to fail. Willlam Penn, however, summoning all his strength and faculties, made an effort to write a letter to the Assembly, of which the following is a copy. I could wish the reader to observe, that he was then in his seventieth year.

"London, 29th 4th month, 1716.

"My old Friends,

"It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments, which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that Province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence, oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

"When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me, that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy, but what with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense for your welfare and ease to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand,

might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.

"For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees (for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has an interest there is or must be concerned in them by their effects), I must therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been, doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest, which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent both here and there: I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

"Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavoured to form such a model of Government as might make all concerned in it easy; which, nevertheless, was subject to be altered as there should be occasion. Soon after we

got over that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable. The numbers of members, both in the Council and Assembly, were much too large. Some other matters also proved inconsistent with the King's Charter to me; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties (the Territories) were brought in, it was well known, at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the Province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

"Upon this they had another Charter passed, *nemine contradicente;* which I always desired might be continued while you yourselves would keep up to it and put it in practice; and many there know much it was against my will, that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But after this was laid aside (which indeed was begun by yourselves in Colonel Fletcher's time) I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges that were found convenient for your good government; and, if any part of it has been in any case infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name to a licentiousness: the design of Government is to preserve good order, which may be equally broke in upon by the turbulent endeavours of the People, as well as the over-

straining of power in a Governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and Assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it, that any other Assembly has in the Queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the Parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments: but to strain this expression to a power to meet at all times during the year, without the Governor's concurrence, would be to distort Government, to break the due proportion of the parts of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of Government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money has been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of; particularly the appointing of Judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the Province and Government in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But seeing the frame of every Government ought to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty for

the support of the whole; I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it, than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the Government out of the Governor's hands and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our Government is dependent, and I am answerable to the Crown, if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations, I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers; because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting any thing of this kind, that were asked of me with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe the contentions that have been raised about these matters, have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire notwithstanding at the bottom to serve the public (which I hope has still been the inducement of several concerned in them), I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation; the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into the hands of those, who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice; besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves past in the Assemblies for turning my quitrents, never sold by me, to the support of Government; my lands entered upon without any

regular method; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that Government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add the violence that has been particularly shown to my Secretary; of which (though I shall by no means protect him in any thing he can justly be charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his persecutors; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and at the same time think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from, that Province; I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappi-

ness that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

"Friends! the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that Country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy: but, to see the use you make of them is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive even the sense or meaning. Where are the distresses, grievances, and oppressions, that the papers, sent from thence, so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the Queen's dominions?

"Is it such a grievous oppression, that the Courts are established by my power, founded on the King's Charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for I believe the late Assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them), and I am freely content you should have any

law that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the Officers' fees are not settled by an Act of Assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself. Do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and, I hope, my Lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression that licenses for public-houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable: but that business I find is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that it is in my power to remedy, (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such,) I would be as ready on my part to remove them as you to desire it; but, according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen (and you once thought I had a pretty good one), I must in a deep sense of sorrow say, that I fear the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there to the great mercies of God hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and, by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, into calamities, reduce those that have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented to a true

but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all: I doubt not many of you have been burthened at, and can by no means join in, the measures that have been taken; but while such things appear under the name of an Assembly, that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

"I have already been tedious, and shall now therefore briefly say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must at length force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances in relation to that Province. In the mean time, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other; for from the next Assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair Election, be so declared; and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give

you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor Country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end, our relation in the Truth having but the same true interest.

"I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real Friend as well as just Proprietor and Governor,

"WILLIAM PENN."

This letter arrived safe. What answer was returned to it does not appear: but the result of it is well known; for, however there might be some who thought the Proprietor had not conducted himself properly in all respects towards them, yet the serious nature of it affected the considerate part of the Assembly, so that they began now to feel for the Father of his Country, to pity him in his declining years, and to put a just value upon his labours, which had been expended indeed in their service. This sentiment spread as the contents of the letter became known, so as at length to affect the whole Province; the consequence of which was, that at the next annual Election in October *not one of those Members was returned who had served in the preceding year.* This was the greatest compliment that the Province could at this time have paid him. It was in fact a national answer to, and a national compliance with, his letter: "for if," said he in that letter, as we have just read, "a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me no regard, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair

Election, be so declared; and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon."

The new Members having been elected, and duly qualified to act, Governor Gookin met them in Assembly. Great harmony is said to have subsisted between them and the Governor, such as had not been witnessed for years, so that many Laws were agreed upon and passed to the satisfaction of all the branches of the Legislature.

In the early part of 1711, the Governor, having received an express from England respecting the expedition against Canada, convened the same Assembly. He proposed to them, as he had done to their predecessors, the raising and equipment of a certain number of men, or that they would vote a sum equivalent to the purpose. They expressed their regret, that on account of their religious principles they could not comply with his request; but they voted two thousand pounds as a present to the Queen, and passed a Bill for the raising of it.

In the October following the Election came on again. Several of those who were in the Assembly of 1709 were chosen, but the House retained its last Speaker. Governor Gookin informed them, that the Proprietary had desired him to signify to them the pleasure which their harmonious conduct of late had given him, and that he should be glad to serve the people of the Province; and that he left it to themselves to think of the means that might best conduce to their own quiet and interest. He offered at the same time his own ready concurrence to

any thing of that nature which they should propose consistent with the honour and interest of the Crown, of the Proprietary, and of the public welfare. He concluded his Address to them by recommending them to think of a proper provision for his own support.

In return to this, the Assembly acknowledged the kind regard of the Proprietor towards them; they thanked the Governor for his own readiness to concur in the propositions of the latter, and they promised to take care of his support; which they did afterwards to his satisfaction.

But here it will be necessary to conclude our history of the Province: for William Penn having lost in a great degree his memory and understanding by an apoplectic fit in the ensuing year, we can have no motive for continuing it. While he was in his health and senses we saw him move and act. We saw him advise and direct. We took therefore an interest in what he did. But when he was rendered incapable of acting, we lose our interest with his powers. And the same may be said relative to himself; for, when he was rendered incapable of his usual perceptions, the Province became as dead to him in point of interest, as without his movements and motives it becomes to us.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. 1713-14-15-16-17-18—gradually declines—account of him during this period—dies at Rushcomb—concourse of people at his funeral—malevolent report concerning him after his death—certificates of Simon Clement and Hannah Mitchell—short account of his will.

THE account which we have of William Penn from this time, though authentic as far as it goes, is very short. It is stated in Besse's History of his Life, that one of his intimate Friends visited him once every year from the present period; and it is chiefly from him, that is, from the memorandums he left behind him of these visits, that I have been enabled to continue it.

In 1713 the Friend alluded to, being at his house some days, "found him to appearance pretty well in health, and cheerful of disposition, but defective in memory; so that though he could relate many past transactions, yet he could not readily recollect the names of absent persons, nor could he deliver his words so readily as heretofore: yet many savoury and sensible expressions came from him, rendering his company even yet acceptable, and manifesting the religious stability of his mind."

The same Friend in his second visit, which he made to him in the spring of 1714, found him very

little altered from what he had been last year. He accompanied him in his carriage to Reading meeting. He describes him as rising up there to exhort those present; as speaking several sensible sentences, though not able to say much; and, on leaving the meeting to return home, as taking leave of his friends with much tenderness. This, as I observed before, was in the spring; but we learn something more concerning him from another quarter in the autumn of the same year. His old friend Thomas Story arrived at this time in England, and went to Rushcomb to see him. The account he gives of him is as follows: "He was then," says Thomas Story, "under the lamentable effects of an apoplectic fit, which he had had some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversible as formerly, and yet as near the Truth, in the love of it, as before, wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks; for though to some this accident might look like judgment, and no doubt his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of Truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house I though myself strong enough to see him in that

condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body, with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When these are but a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts and finest expression becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him; and that he had still a good sense of Truth is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of Truth in an evening-meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."

In 1715 his intimate friend before alluded to again visited him. His memory, it appears, had become yet more deficient, but his love and sense of religious enjoyments apparently continued; for he still often went in his chariot to the meeting at Reading, and there sometimes uttered short but very sound and savoury expressions. One morning, while this friend was at his house, being about to go to the

meeting, he expressed his desire to the Lord that they might receive some good from him. This year he went to Bath, but the waters there proved of no benefit to his long-continued complaint.

In 1716 the same friend and another visited him again, at whose coming he seemed glad; and though he could not then remember their names, yet by his answers it appeared he knew their persons. He was now much weaker than last year, but still expressed himself sensibly at times, and particularly took his leave of them at their going away in these words: "My love is with you; the Lord preserve you and remember me in the everlasting covenant."

In 1717 his friend made his last visit to him. He then found his understanding so much weakened, that he scarce knew his old acquaintances; and his bodily strength so much decayed, that he could not well walk without leading, nor scarce express himself intelligibly.

We learn from this account of his friend, combined with that of Thomas Story, that his decay was gradual; and that, though his frame had been so grievously shattered and impaired, his existence under it had been left comfortable. He had sufficient sense and understanding left to exhibit the outward appearance of innocence and love, and the inward one of the enjoyment of the Deity himself by an almost constant communion with his Holy Spirit.

In the year 1718 the forementioned History of his Life continues the account thus: "After a con-

tinued and gradual declension for about six years his body now drew near to its dissolution, and on the thirtieth day of the fifth month (July) 1718, between two and three in the morning, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was committed to the earth on the fifth of the sixth month following at Jordans in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife and several of his family had been interred. And as he had led in this life a course of patient continuance in well-doing, and through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ had been enabled to overcome the world, the flesh, and the devil, the grand enemies of man's salvation, he is, we doubt not, admitted to that everlasting inheritance which God hath prepared for his people, and made partaker of the promise of Christ, Rev. iii. 21. 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.'"

His funeral was attended by a great concourse of people from all parts, by many of the most valued of the Society, and by many of different religious denominations, to pay this last tribute of respect to him. Among the former was Thomas Story. "I arrived," says Thomas Story, "at Rushcomb late in the evening, where I found the widow and most of the family together. My coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. A

solid time (of worship) we had together, but few words among us for some time; for it was a deep baptizing season, and the Lord was near at that time. On the fifth I accompanied the corpse to the grave, where we had a large meeting; and as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth for great and good services——had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various sorts, and did not leave him in his last moments ——so he was pleased to honour this occasion with his blessed presence, and gave us a happy season of his goodness to the general satisfaction of all."

After his funeral, as if malevolence had not sufficiently harassed him in life, a report got abroad, that he had died mad at Bath. The report spreading, Henry Pickworth, who had been formerly a minister among the Quakers but disowned by them, availed himself of it, if he did not invent it, to wound the feelings of the latter. Accordingly, so late even as twelve years after his death, that is, in 1730, he published a letter, in which he stated the two circumstances before mentioned; and in adverting to the lunacy, he described it to be "of the nature of Nebuchadnezzar's of old, which terminated in rage and madness before the end of his days." Joseph Besse in his "Answer to Patrick Smith, M. A. a Clergyman of Huntingdonshire," notices the two charges, and repels them thus: "But if," says he, "he was never lunatic nor mad, and did not end his days at Bath, then here are two falsehoods in fact." After this he produced two

certificates, to establish the falsehoods; one from Simon Clement, a gentleman who had been an intimate acquaintance of William Penn, and the other from Hannah Mitchell of St. Martin-le-grand, London. The former ran thus:

" He was indeed," says Mr. Clement, " attacked with a kind of apoplectic fit in London in the month of May 1712, from which he recovered, and did go to the Bath, and from thence to Bristol, where he had a second fit about September following; and in about three months after he had the third fit at his own house at Rushcomb, which impaired his memory, so that though he knew his friends well, who came to visit him, and rejoiced to see them, yet he could not hold any discourse with them, or even call them by their names. But this was so far from any show of lunacy, that *his actions were regular and orderly*, and nothing appeared in his behaviour, but a *loving*, *meek*, *quiet*, *easy temper* and *a childish innocence*, which to me seemed a great indication of his having been *in a very happy frame of spirit* at the time when he was surprised with this indisposition; under which he continued (but otherwise in a pretty good state of health) till the month of July 1718, when he was taken with a fever, of which he died (*not at the Bath*), but at *his own house at Rushcomb* in Berkshire, but *without ever having any symptoms of raging or madness*, though the same is wickedly affirmed by this false witness Henry Pickworth."

The second was as follows: "I think fit to acquaint the world, that the late account given by Henry Pickworth concerning *my worthy master*, William Penn, is *notoriously false. I had the honour* to wait on him from the beginning of his last indisposition, which was a palsie, occasioned by a third apoplectic fit."

By his last will made in 1712, a few months before his first attack by apoplexy, he left his estates in England and Ireland to William, his eldest surviving son by Gulielma Maria, his first wife, and to the issue of that marriage, which then consisted of his said son William, his daughter Letitia (married to William Aubrey), and three children of his son William; namely, Gulielma Maria, Springett, and William. The Government of his Province of Pennsylvania and Territories and powers thereunto belonging he devised to his particular friends, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer; and William, Earl Powlett; and their heirs, upon trust, to dispose thereof to the Queen or any other person to the best advantage they could, to be applied in such manner as he should hereafter direct.——He then devised to his wife Hannah Penn, together with eleven others and to their heirs, all his lands, rents, and other profits in America, upon trust, to dispose of so much thereof as should be sufficient to discharge all his debts, and, after payment thereof, to convey to his daughter Letitia, and to each of three children before mentioned of his son William, ten thousand acres of land (the

forty thousand to be set out in such places as his trustees should think fit), and then to convey all the rest of his landed property there, subject to the payment of three hundred pounds a-year to his wife for her natural life, to and amongst his children by her (John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard, and Dennis, all minors), in such proportions and for such estates as his said wife should think fit. All his personal estate in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, and arrears of rent due there, he devised to his said wife, whom he made his sole executrix, for the equal benefit of her and her children.

William Penn having made this his last will in 1712, and afterwards agreed, as before related, to part with the Province to Government for 12,000*l.*; a question arose after his decease, whether what was devised to the said Earls to be sold, should, as then circumstanced, be accounted part of the real or of the personal estate of the testator (the latter by the will being the property of the widow)? The two Earls in consequence declined to act in their trust without a decree of the Court of Chancery for their indemnity. This process, together with other difficulties that had arisen, kept the property of the family in a perplexing state of uncertainty for about eight or nine years. At length, however, all the disputed points were amicably adjusted by the respective parties interested, amongst themselves, before any decree had issued; and in pursuance thereof not only the Province itself but also the Government of it descended to John, Thomas, and

Richard Penn, the surviving sons of the younger branch of the family, thenceforward the Proprietaries.

It is proper to remark, that when William Penn made his last will, his estates in England and Ireland, which produced upwards of fifteen hundred pounds annually, were esteemed of more value than all his property in America, especially as only part of the mortgage thereon of 1708 had been discharged; but during the interval of rather more than six years between that and the time of his death, a progressive increase of trade and population, almost unexampled, during a happy state of uninterrupted tranquillity, had improved the value of the Pennsylvanian property far beyond what could have been imagined; in addition to which the Crown-lawyers had given a joint opinion, which was adopted by Government, that the agreement for sale in 1712 was made void by William Penn's inability to execute the surrender in a proper manner.

CHAPTER XIX.

Some account of his person—of his manner and habits—and of his private character.

HAVING followed William Penn from the cradle * to the grave, I shall conclude by an account of his person, manners, and character, as far as I have had an opportunity of tracing them.

It appears that he was tall in stature and of an athletic make. He delighted when young, as has been before observed, in manly sports. In maturer years he was inclined to corpulency, but using a great deal of exercise he was very active with it. His appearance at this time was that of a fine portly man.

We have no portrait taken of him while alive. Silvanus Bevan†, a chemist of eminence in London, who when young had known him well, took great pains to form a bust of him some time after his de-

* I take this opportunity of supplying an omission made at the end of chap. i. vol. i., where I ought to have stated, that William Penn had a younger brother, Richard, who died at Rickmansworth, and was buried at Wanstead 1673; and a sister, Margaret, who married Anthony Lowther, Esq. of Maske.

† He was in high repute as a man of science and literature, and possessed a talent of taking striking likenesses from recollection and carving them in ivory, though he indulged it but sparingly.

cease, in which he was assisted by the recollection of others familiarly acquainted with him; and having made three copies of it, he sent one of them to James Logan of Philadelphia. The engraving prefixed to Proud's History of Pennsylvania (an American publication) is taken from this bust, and enables us to have a tolerably accurate idea of his person. There appear in the eye deep reflection and strength of intellect, and in the mouth a sort of calm benignity. The face is not an usual one; and there is in the countenance throughout a great sweetness and a general look of benevolent feeling. I may observe here, that a statue of him was erected at the seat of the late Lord Le Despencer near High Wycomb. On the alienation of the estate the pedestal was suffered to decay. The statue, valued then only as old lead, was purchased by a neighbouring plumber, from whom one of the proprietor's grandsons procuring it, presented it to the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia. No dependence, however, is to be placed on this, as any likeness of the person it professed to represent.

William Penn was very neat, though plain, in his dress. He walked generally with a cane. This cane he was accustomed to take with him in the latter part of his life into his study, where, when he dictated to an amanuensis, as was frequently his practice, he would take it in his hand, and walking up and down the room would mark, by striking it against the floor, the emphasis on points which he wished particularly to be noticed.

He was very neat also as to his person, and had a great aversion to the use of tobacco. However, when he was in America he was often annoyed by it, but he bore it with good humour. We have an anecdote of him there, as it relates to this custom. Several of his particular Friends were one day assembled at Burlington. While they were smoking their pipes, it was announced to them, that the Gonernor's barge was in sight and coming up the river. The company supposed that he was on his way to Pennsbury, about seven miles higher up. They continued smoking: but being afterwards informed, that he had landed at a wharf near them and was just entering the house, they suddenly concealed their pipes. Perceiving from the smoke, when he went into the room, what they had been doing, and discovering that the pipes had been hid, he said very pleasantly, "Well, Friends, I am glad that you are at last ashamed of your old practice."——"Not entirely so," replied Samuel Jenings, one of the company, "but we preferred laying down our pipes to the danger of offending a weak brother." They then expressed their surprise at this abrupt visit, as in his passage from Philadelphia not only the tide but the wind had been furiously against him. He replied with a smile on his countenance, "that he had been sailing against wind and tide all his life."

Having a great variety of business to go through, he was obliged to be an œconomist of his time. He was therefore regular and methodical in his movements. This regularity and method he carried into

his family, and this not only in their temporal but their spiritual concerns. It appears by a paper which he wrote, and which was probably stuck up in some conspicuous place in his house, and which contained "Christian Discipline; or, Good and wholesome Orders for the well governing of his Family," that in that quarter of the year which included part of the winter and part of the spring, the members of it were to rise at seven in the morning, in the next at six, in the next at five, and in the last at six again. Nine o'clock was the hour for breakfast, twelve for dinner, seven for supper, and ten to retire to bed. The whole family were to assemble every morning for worship. They were to be called together at eleven again, that each might read in turn some portion of the holy Scripture, or of Martyrology, or of Friends' books; and finally they were to meet again for worship at six in the evening. On the days of public meeting, no one was to be absent except on the plea of health or of unavoidable engagement. The servants were to be called up after supper to render to their master and mistress an account of what they had done in the day, and to receive instructions for the next. The same paper laid down rules for their guidance. They were to avoid loud discourse and troublesome noises; they were not to absent themselves without leave; they were not to go to any public-house but upon business; and they were not to loiter, or enter into unprofitable talk, while on an errand. It contained also exhortations to them, to be upright and faithful

to their employers, and, though each had a particular service, to be willing, all of them, to assist each other as it became brethren and fellow-servants. And lastly, it contained one general exhortation to all: every member of the family was instructed to keep a watch over his mind, to beware of lying, defrauding, tale-bearing, and other vicious practices there specified; to abstain from words which would provoke lightness, and from giving each other bad names; and in case of difference, not to let the sun go down upon their wrath.

William Penn is said to have possessed fine talents. Sir John Rhodes, who was very intimate with him, and who wrote the preface to his posthumous work, called "Fruits of a Father's Love, being the Advice of William Penn to his Children relating to their civil and religious Conduct," says, that he was qualified for a high station in life by very bright and excellent parts, and these cultivated and improved by the advantage of a liberal education, and also polished by travelling abroad, and by conversation with some of the greatest men the age produced. Of these his father was very sensible; which gave him so shocking a concern, when his son espoused the principles of the despised Quakers, that it threw him into violent agonies, so that, as William Penn himself told Sir John Rhodes, his father was in bitterness for him as a man is in bitterness for his first-born.

William Penn was indefatigable as a minister of the Gospel. It is also said of him that, though he

was a learned man, he used, while preaching, language the most simple and easy to be understood, and that he had a happy way of explaining himself by images the most familiar. He was of such humility, that he used generally to sit at the lowest end of the space allotted to ministers, always taking care to place above himself poor ministers, and those who appeared to him to be peculiarly gifted. He was also no less remarkable for encouraging those who were young in the ministry. Thomas Story, among many others, witnessed this. "I had no courage," says he, "of my own to appear in public among them (the ministers). I thought however (on seeing Aaron Atkinson's ministry acceptable) that I might also probably go through the meetings without offence, which was the full amount of my expectation or desire there; and that which added much to my encouragement was the fatherly care and behaviour of the ministers in general, but especially of that great minister of the Gospel, and faithful servant of Christ, William Penn, who abounded in wisdom, discretion, prudence, love, and tenderness of affection, with all sincerity, above most in this generation; and indeed I never knew his equal."

He is handed down, by those who knew him, to have been very pleasant and strikingly animated in conversation. He had rather a disposition to facetiousness, clothed however in the purest habit of decorum. We have no testimony against this but that of Bishop Burnet, who says "that he was a

talking vain man. He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it, though he was singular in that opinion; for he had a tedious luscious way of talking, not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience." It is perhaps hardly worth while to refute a statement which affects so little the moral character; and yet truth is always to be preferred and defended. Leaving then out of the question the oral testimony of those who knew him well, I may observe, that it is recorded in the Gentleman's Magazine (A. 1737) that a person once travelled with William Penn in a stage-coach, "*and a pleasant companion he was.*" This person was so struck by it, as to ask him, seeing the Society despised human learning, where he and Barclay and Keith received their education. I may mention also, that Dr. Tillotson concluded one of his letters to William Penn in these words: "I will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing-cross, and renew our acquaintance, *in which I took much pleasure.*" Surely Dr. Tillotson, one of the most accomplished and polite scholars of his age, and a serious Christian, could never have taken great pleasure in the conversation of a talking vain man, or of one who had a tedious way of talking. Again, if we look into Noble's Continuation of Granger, we shall find that Dean Swift asserted, that "Penn *talked very agreeably and with much spirit.*" Now we know that Dean Swift frequently met him in company with great people, and that he knew him so well, as

in one of his letters to Mrs. Johnson to call him *his friend* Penn. But Burnet himself was not a shrewder man than Swift, nor better capable of judging upon a question like that before us.

He was a man of great sensibility. Those who knew him have seen the tear start in his eye at the relation of tales of wretchedness, and, what is more remarkable, at the relation of acts of peculiar kindness to those who needed it. An instance of the latter nature is recorded by John Richardson in his Journal, but it is too long to detail throughout. It appears there that John Richardson and James Bates, two Quaker ministers, who were on a religious mission, landed from a sloop at Bermuda in 1702. They were immediately ordered up to the Government-house. The sea-sickness was still upon them, and they were shivering and faint. In this state they were ushered into the Governor's presence. Here they expected nothing but rough usage, if not a prison; but instead of these they experienced every thing that was hospitable and humane. The Governor (Bennett) not only gave them refreshment, and entered into friendly conversation with them relative to their religious tenets, but, finding them in a weakly state, lent them his own horses to ride upon as far as an inlet of water, which they were to cross. Here Judge Stafford, perceiving two strangers, sent his boat for them. He received them into his own house, where he refreshed them and lodged them also. The next day he accommodated them with horses in like manner

to enable them to pursue their mission on the island. I may now observe, that John Richardson was afterwards with William Penn, and that he told him these and other particulars connected with the tale as they occurred, and that William Penn was greatly affected by the narration; for "when," says John Richardson, "I told William Penn *how it had fared with us on that island, and especially the kindness of the two chief men in power there, he wept.*"

William Penn was equalled by few in his attention to the poor, or in his attention to others, of whatever class in life or religious description, who lived in his own neighbourhood; so that perhaps no man was ever more popular within these limits. His memory on this account was held dear, both at Rickmansworth and Worminghurst, long after he had left these places; and so dear was it on the same account at Rushcomb, the last place of his residence, that his name at entire length, and compound names alluding to his American possessions, appear in the Parish Register as having been given by parents in the neighbourhood to their children, in honour of the memory of his worth.

There is another anecdote I may mention, which, though trifling in itself, will afford us another view of his character. In the year 1690 "An History of the Old and New Testament" came out, "translated from the Works of the learned Le Sieur de Royaumont, by Joseph Raynor, B. D. and supervised by Dr. Anthony Horneck, Henry Wharton, B. D. and others." It contained two hundred and

sixty plates or engravings, which represented certain transactions, parables, or histories, as recorded in the Scriptures. Each plate, that is, the design and the expense of engraving it, was furnished by some person of quality or eminence, to whom it was addressed. King William and Queen Mary each presented one to the work. Among other contributors to it was William Penn. The subject of the plate which he gave was the Parable of the Talents. The rich man appeared sitting with his steward and others at a large table, where there was pen, ink, and scrolls of paper. Two of those who had received the talents stood near the table. He who had received the largest share had laid his five bags upon it. These the steward had examined, and he was then entering the amount of them in a book. He who had received the two talents was seen standing with his two bags in his hand, ready to lay them on the table when called upon and to deliver his account. He who had received but one was seen kneeling with one knee, and with his bag also near him, on the ground, and lifting up his hands and imploring mercy. At a little distance appeared the hole in the ground, from which the bag had been taken; close to which were lying the pick-axe and spade which had been used in digging it up. Such was the nature of the plate furnished by William Penn. We may collect from it, that though perhaps, like others of his own religious Society, he was no great encourager of the arts, yet he availed himself of the opportunity of promoting them where

they could be made subservient to religion, or rather that he omitted no innocent opportunity of promoting the cause of the latter. We collect again, where his mind was most conversant, or where it delighted most to be employed, namely, in enlarging the empire of moral good. He might have handed to the Artist a fine subject for his pencil, or a subject for the indulgence of his own curiosity, or the display of his own taste; but he chose that which, by means of the engraving in question, should inculcate the most important lesson that Christianity teaches mankind, namely, the duty of employing their talents to the utmost for the benefit of each other, and the sin of the omission. I may observe, that no man inculcated this lesson more frequently by his own practice than himself.

These few anecdotes relating to William Penn, received chiefly from persons who had them from others personally acquainted with him, or to be found in scarce books, I have thought it proper to bring forward, because, being contained in no other History of his Life, they must be new to most readers. As to the other component parts of his character, they may be gathered from the preceding sheets of this work. It may be deduced from these, that he was a kind Husband, a tender Father, a noble Patriot, and a good Man. But as they who read may collect these and other estimable traits for themselves, it seems unnecessary that I should do it for them. I will therefore avail myself but of one statement which these Memoirs afford me, as the

admission of it will fix his character at once. He seems then, if I may use the expression, to have been daily conversant with the Divine Being, daily worshipping and praising him, either in his own private, or in his family, or in his public devotions, and daily walking with him in his multifarious concerns. All his publications, nay, almost every letter, whether public or private, breathes a spirit of piety and reliance upon God. Hence he must have been lowly-minded, merciful, and just. Hence under disappointment he must have been patient, under persecution forgiving. And here let me observe, that, though his life was a scene of trial and suffering, he must have had intervals of comfort and happiness the most solid and brilliant, one ray from the Divine Presence dissipating whole clouds of affliction around him. What other amiable traits must there not have been in the character of one who walked in such an heavenly path!

CHAPTER XX.

Examination of the outcry against him of "Papist and Jesuit"—of the charges against him by Burnet—and of those contained in the State Papers of Nairne—and in the insinuations of Lord Lyttelton—and Dr. Franklin.

I BELIEVE it may be said, with no small degree of truth, that few men of character ever experienced such a continued outcry against them, while living, as William Penn; that few men of character ever had their posthumous fame so tarnished, and this by persons of high reputation in the world; and that few men, after all the imputations against them had been allowed to wander free and uncontrolled, ever triumphed more in the estimation of posterity; I mean the posterity of the present day.

But though by means of his great and public actions founded in virtue, (for no other foundation had availed,) some reputed objectionable transactions of his private life have been so far eclipsed, that the former are now only generally conspicuous, it does not follow that we ought to overlook the latter. It is but justice to the memory of William Penn to inquire, whether they existed at all. The presumption is, from what we have seen of his character, that they could have had no foundation in fact. But if they did not exist, then his history

ought not to be sullied by the continuation of such mischievous errors.

The first of the imputations against him consists in that hue and cry, as it were, which accompanied him through a great part of his life, both in clamour and in print, that he was a *Papist* and a *Jesuit*. I do not mean by this, that, had he been either the one or the other, he had therefore been an unworthy person; but I must say, that if he had been a Papist, when he professed himself a Quaker, he would have been justly chargeable with hypocrisy; and it is on this account that I am at all induced to notice the charge against him. Let us then see what evidence he has furnished himself, (for we need go to no other,) and this through an uninterrupted chain for years, on the subject.

In the year 1668, in his work called "Truth Exalted," he considers the Roman Catholic religion as one of those "which had been formed and followed in the darkness of apostacy." Again: "Whence," says he in the same work, "came your Creeds but from factious and corrupted Councils dyed in the blood of those who refused conformity? What Scriptures of the holy Prophets and Apostles, or what Tradition for the first three hundred years, mention a Mass-book, speak of Peter's Chair and a successive Infallibility, or say a Wafer is corporally the Flesh, Blood, and Bones, which suffered without Jerusalem? And where did they teach to adore Images, appoint holy Days, canonize Saints, chaffer

and merchandize about Indulgences, pray for the Dead, and preach or write for a Purgatory?"

In 1670 he attempted to refute, in his "Seasonable Caveat against Popery," certain Doctrines of the Church of Rome as they related to the Scriptures—Prayers to Saints and Angels—Justification of Merits—Prayer in Latin—and other Doctrines and Customs belonging to it.

In 1675 he wrote "A Letter to a Roman Catholic," in which we may notice this passage: "They are Christ's who take up his cross against the glory and spirit of this world, in which the Church of Rome lives. Behold the pride, luxury, and cruelty, which hath for ages been in that Church, even the Heads and Chieftains thereof. It is a mistake to think that to be Christ's Church, which has lost its heavenly qualifications, because it once was. What is become of Antioch, and Jerusalem, both Churches of Christ, and before Rome?"

In 1678 he made two speeches before a Committee of the House of Commons. In the latter of these he speaks thus: "I solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God and before you all, that the profession I now make and the Society I now adhere to have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our Martyrs at home,

against the Pope and See of Rome." And further on in the same speech he says, "We think it hard, that though we (Quakers) do deny in common with her (the Church of England) those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against (from whence the name Protestants), yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny."

In 1679 he wrote "England's great Interest in the choice of a new Parliament." To promote this interest he recommends, among other things, "that care be taken that we be secured from Popery and slavery, and that at the ensuing election only sincere Protestants should be chosen." In the same year he published "One Project for the Good of England," in which he recommended a certain public Declaration, as a mark of discrimination, by which all Protestant Dissenters might be enabled to prove that they were not Catholics. This Declaration, which he drew up himself, denied the Pope's right to depose any Sovereign, or absolve the subjects of such Sovereign from their allegiance. It denied him to be Christ's vicar. It denied a purgatory after death, transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper, and the lawfulness and efficacy of prayers to Saints and Images.

Now if to these considerations we add the contents of that part of his letter to Dr. Tillotson in 1685, in which he refers the latter to other of his

publications, (such as his "Address to Protestants," and to the first four chapters of his "No Cross, No Crown,") and also to his letter to Mr. Popple in 1688, in which he solemnly denies every individual circumstance brought forward to establish the charge against him, and solemnly declares himself a Protestant, there will not remain the shadow of a doubt, that there could ever have been any real foundation for the clamour of his predilection for Popery, which occasioned him to be so unpopular in the kingdom. Indeed the bare comparison (to use his own words to Dr. Tillotson) of "the most inceremonious and unworldly way of worship" of the Quakers with the "pompous cult of the Catholics," would of itself afford an argument decisive of the point, unless we can suppose that William Penn dared, for some purpose not yet discovered, to act the part of a hypocrite, and this daily at the altar as it were of God, during a life accompanied by those outward circumstances, which are usually considered by the world as marks of superior purity and worth.

With respect to the charge of his having been educated at St. Omer's *as a Jesuit*, I might say, as he has said himself, that he *was never at St. Omer's in his life;* but as the matter is so easily unravelled, it becomes me to do it. And here I may observe, that in all charges, whether against public or private men, there is always a something which has given birth to them: there is usually a foundation for them, though not always a good one. So in the

present case. William Penn, when he was sent to Paris by his father, left it, as has been before mentioned, *to reside for a while at an academy at Saumur*, kept by Moses Amyrault, one of the greatest *Protestant* divines of the age. Now this circumstance was reported in England, and unfortunately some one of those, who heard it mentioned, confounded *Saumur* with *St. Omer*. Of this mistake his enemies immediately availed themselves, and, there being then at the latter place a College for Jesuits, they directly inferred that he was one of that order.

Among the writers who have thought disrespectfully of William Penn, or who have related matters which implicate his moral character, the first in order of time is the celebrated Bishop Burnet. And here I cannot help lamenting, how, on account of the infirmity of our nature, the best men are often warped by prejudices, so as to throw a shade upon actions capable of bearing the full light. Bishop Burnet, as we have seen in these Memoirs, was at the Hague and in company with William Penn, when the latter was endeavouring to prevail upon the Prince of Orange to join with King James in the abolition of Tests for religion in the British realms. In consequence of this attempt Burnet took a prejudice against him; and coupling with this circumstance the outcry of *Papist* and *Jesuit*, which induced him to suppose Penn a Roman Catholic, the prejudice was only the more confirmed, and it was carried by him through his whole

work of "The History of his own Times," so that he has given us there almost *all that was current against William Penn;* but *in no one part of it* that I have read *has he ever spoken well of him, even once.* Of this prejudice the first extract I am to make will be in the minds of many not a despicable proof.

"Penn," says he, "had engaged him (Steward) to come over (from Holland), for he had long been considered by the King (James) as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot for these twenty years past." This was in 1688. Now supposing Steward had been thus engaged by Penn, for what was he so employed? Not to dethrone Kings, as one would naturally suppose from these expressions, not to stir up the flames of civil war, but to promote, by Burnet's own confession, *religious liberty in Scotland by the abolition of Tests. This was the mighty crime.* I do think therefore, that the observation "that Steward had been *considered* by the King *as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot for these twenty years past,*" might have been spared on this occasion, even if it had been true. I have now to observe, that when this same Steward, or rather Steuart, was a fugitive in Holland with his brother Sir Robert, mentioned in the preceding volume of this work, he was there in that situation, not because he had done any thing in the way of plot or conspiracy at home, but because, *having refused to renounce the Covenant when required, and*

being persecuted on account of his religion, he determined to seek an asylum in foreign parts.

I pass by the account given by Burnet for the same year, without any comment, in which he says "that Father Petre and Penn engaged the King to it," that is, to renew the Declaration for liberty of conscience and to hold a Parliament in the November following, and come to a matter of a very serious nature. Speaking of the year 1690 he says, "The men that laid this design were the Earl of Clarendon, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Preston and his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn the famous Quaker." The design he informs us was to restore James. For this purpose Lord Preston was to go over to France to negotiate for military aid. One Ashton hired the vessel, and he and Lord Preston went on board in order to sail over: but information having been given of the plot, they were seized with their papers, which consisted of letters to James from those who had joined with Lord Preston in the design. The Bishop of Ely's letters were written in a very particular style. Others were in Lord Preston's, and others in Ashton's, own hand-writing. The trial of the two latter commenced, and both of them were condemned, and Ashton suffered. As to the other conspirators he observes, "the Earl of Clarendon was seized and put into the Tower; but the Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded."

Now here are two charges against William Penn: first, that he assisted in laying the design;

and, secondly, when some who had been concerned in it were convicted, that he absconded. With respect to the first, had Burnet said that the names of the Bishop of Ely, Penn, and Graham, were inserted in a Proclamation, dated February the fifth, soon after the execution of Ashton, *on suspicion* of having been concerned in the design, the assertion would have been free from error. But it did not follow, *because William Penn was suspected, that he was therefore guilty.* It may be remembered, that in the early part of the former year he had been called before the King and Council, being then suspected of a traitorous correspondence on account of an intercepted letter, which James had written him. His reply was, "that he could not help the King writing to him, if he, the King, chose so to do; and among other things, that though he could not avoid the suspicion of such a correspondence, he could avoid the guilt of it; that he was willing to repay King James's kindness to him by any private service in his power; but that he must observe inviolably and entirely that duty to the State, which belonged to all the subjects of it; and therefore that he had never had the wickedness to think of endeavouring to restore him to the Crown." This assertion was found afterwards to be true; for he was tried, and honourably acquitted of the charge. It may be remembered also, that in two months after this he was apprehended again; but he could not help the suspicion, which led to this new apprehension, though a second trial showed that he

had no concern in the guilt. So in like manner he could not hinder Fuller from backing the accusation of Lord Preston, *which was to save his own life*, though he was entirely ignorant of the plot. Not only was no letter found written by him, nor any letter which even mentioned his name, among the many papers discovered, *but he made it appear to the King and Council in* 1693, *that he never had been concerned in this or in any other attempt of the kind;* the immediate result of which was, *his acquittal of the charge* which had been brought against him.

With respect to the other charge, that of absconding, it was not true, either in the sense of the word, or the manner in which it was used; for absconding implies flight or concealment on account of guilt; and when the term is thus used by Burnet, and the name of William Penn is no more to be found in his work, the reader is led to imagine that he was no more heard of, and therefore that the guilt followed him. But how happens it, if he had been guilty and had absconded, *that he was acquitted* in 1693; that *his Government was restored to him* in 1694; that from 1694 to 1699 *he was travelling publicly* both in England and Ireland as a minister of the Gospel; that from 1699 to nearly 1702 he *was acting on the spot in the high and conspicuous character of Governor of Pennsylvania;* that in the latter year he *was at the Court of Queen Anne;* and that after this period *he enjoyed her personal friendship?* It was surely the duty of Burnet, when his

History reached to the year 1713, to have cleared up the reputation of William Penn. If he thought fit to say, that he had absconded in 1690 in consequence of having been concerned in the plot with the Lord Viscount Preston, he ought to have said that he made his innocence appear in 1693. He ought to have said also, that in the same year, in which the Proclamation came out against William Penn, Fuller was voted by the House of Commons a notorious impostor, a cheat, and a false accuser; and that he was afterwards prosecuted by the Attorney-General on an Address from that House to the King, and that he was sentenced to the pillory. He ought to have stated again, that the same Fuller was prosecuted in the King's Bench in 1702, and convicted again as an impostor; and that for publishing certain libels he was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to be sent to the house of correction, and to pay a fine of a thousand marks. A similar deficiency is observable in the same History about two years before this period; for Burnet, when speaking of the affair of the Fellows of Magdalen College, and this more particularly than any other writer, never mentions the noble interference of William Penn, by which he dared to expostulate with the King concerning it. It would be in vain to say that he was ignorant of it, when the subject had excited such national attention, when the parties concerned were so numerous and all of them above the common rank, when the cause too being that of a struggle for liberty against James, was one of the

Bishop's own, and when he knew better than any other man, even to the minuteness of a spy, what was going on in all parts of the kingdom. Hence, by reason of such deficiencies*, the character of one of the best of men has gone down to posterity with some of the foulest blots.

The next charges against him in the order of time are contained in the State Papers of Nairne, included in the two volumes of original papers published by Macpherson. Nairne had served as Under Secretary to three successive Ministers of James after his retreat to France, and became acquainted in consequence with all the intelligence which was sent from England in behalf of the exiled King. It appears in the first volume, that Captain Williamson had been sent over to England as a spy to pick up all the information he could, and to collect the sentiments and advice of James's friends, in favour of his Restoration. Having completed his errand, he either drew up a Memorial and sent it, or carried it back with him, to France. It was dated December 1693. The memorial stated first the opinion of the Earl of Clarendon, which was, that James's Restoration might be effected, if the French King would send over to England thirty thousand men for the purpose. It then went on to detail the opinions of others on the same subject, such as of

* It is remarkable, that subsequent historians, copying chiefly from Burnet, have all omitted to mention William Penn's acquittal in 1693, though his restoration to his Government and the being at large afterwards were so notorious.

the Lords Montgomery, Aylesbury, Yarmouth, Arran, and others, till it came to that of William Penn. The latter was reported to have given his advice as follows: " Mr. Penn says, that your Majesty has had several occasions, but never any so favourable as the present; and he hopes that your Majesty will be earnest with the Most Christian King not to neglect it; that a descent with thirty thousand men will not only re-establish your Majesty, but according to all appearance break the league; that your Majesty's kingdoms will be wretched while the Confederates are united; for while there is a fool in England, the Prince of Orange will have a pensioned Parliament, who will give him money." It appears also by the second volume, that William Penn still continued plotting, and this for twenty years afterwards; for a letter, dated December 1713, and which was written in cyphers by Plunket, an Irish spy in England, to his employers in France, was found among Nairne's papers as notifying the fact. It was the object of this letter to give an account of the various and secret intrigues then going on in England, and accordingly Plunket mentioned the names of those with whom he had conversed on the subject of his mission. Suffice it say, that one of these, when decyphered, was put down as the name of William Penn.

I shall now reply to these charges. And first of all (setting aside the consideration, that they come through the medium of spies and informers, or of others who might gratify their employers by intelli-

gence the falsehood of which could not be detected at a distance,) are they in themselves credible? Is it possible that William Penn, as a Quaker, could ever have been either directly or indirectly concerned in advice or transactions of this nature? Is it possible, after four accusations and four acquittals, that he would not have been singularly cautious of his conduct in this respect? Was he never to learn wisdom? And is it probable, however well he might have wished even to the Restoration of James the Second, that he would have hazarded his life and reputation by extending his services (which must have been the case in 1713) *to his son the Pretender, whom he could never have seen after two months old?* Happily, however, we have in the dates of the charges themselves the most ample means of refuting them: for in *the very month of December* 1693, when the Memorial of the spy Williamson makes William Penn criminally advising in behalf of the Restoration of James, he had established his innocence before the King and Council of *all matters relating to that subject up to that date;* and in the year 1713, when the spy Plunket gave a similar account of him, *he had lost in a great measure both his memory and understanding*, and, what is more, *he had been in that pitiable state for eighteen months before.* Let it be remembered also, that eighteen months prior to this latter charge, he was pronounced by the Crown-lawyers to have *been incapable* even of executing the bargain, which he

had made with the Government for the purchase of his Pennsylvanian concerns.

The imputations against him, which follow next in the order of time, and which are trivial in comparison with the former*, come nearly together, and from two persons of distinguished talents and character. George, the first Lord Lyttelton, whom I shall mention first, has introduced into one of his "Dialogues of the Dead," namely, in that between Fernando Cortez and William Penn, insinuations too broad to be misunderstood, that the latter was swayed by worldly motives in his settlement of Pennsylvania.——It would almost be an insult to the understanding of the reader, if I were to attempt in any regular manner to disprove the charge, because it must have appeared already in the course

* I had occasion to observe but a little while ago, in examining the outcry of *Papist* and *Jesuit* against William Penn, that in all charges, whether against public or private men, there was always a something which had given birth to them, and I stated his education at Saumur to have afforded the origin of that outcry. So in the present case, having proved that he had no concern in the plots and conspiracies of which he had been accused, I have to state, that his open unsuspecting disposition (judging others by the state of his own heart) led him at times to be too unguarded in his expressions, especially after the Revolution, when he had often those about him who were disposed to put the most unfavourable construction upon every word that dropped from him. In consequence of this his unguarded state, which betrayed a weakness though a virtuous one, it was no matter of surprise to many of his most attached friends, that he was, during several years, a constant object of suspicion with the Government.

of this work, that if there was a feature in the character of William Penn more prominent than another, it was that of unbounded generosity in the administration of his Province. Need I repeat that, when the first Assembly offered him an impost on a variety of goods both imported and exported (which impost in a course of years would have become a large revenue of itself) he nobly refused it—thus showing that his object in coming among them was *not that of his own aggrandizement*, but for the *promotion of a public good?* Need I repeat what Oldmixon has said of him? he, who was a furious Revolutionist, and who was strongly prejudiced against him on account of his former attachment to James the Second: "We shall not," says he, "enter into any inquiry into the causes of the trouble that has been given Mr. Penn lately about his province of Pennsylvania; it appears to us by *what we have heard of it from others*, for from himself we had never any information concerning it, that he has been involved in it *by his bounty to the Indians*, *his generosity* in minding the public affairs of the colony *more than his own private ones*, his *humanity* to those who have not made suitable returns, his confidence in those that have betrayed him, and *the rigour of the severest equity*, a word that borders the nearest to injustice of any. 'Tis certainly the duty of this colony to maintain the Proprietary, who has *laid out his all for the maintenance* of them in the possession of his Territory, and the public in gratitude ought to make good what they reap the

benefit of." This is the only defence I shall offer. I may observe, however, if any thing can be said in justification of Lord Lyttelton, whose Dialogue betrays gross illiberality as well as ignorance of the Society of the Quakers, that there was no history in his time of William Penn, which gave an account of his American life; so that he could have known but little of the sacrifices which the latter had made, or of the real motives of his undertaking. I may observe also, that circumstances had unfortunately conspired to give him an unfavourable impression of the Quakers, and of those of Pennsylvania in particular. For he had, a few years before, been the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was then a time of war. The Government at home, seeing that the French had drawn over some of the Indian tribes on their side, wished the Pennsylvanians to raise a militia or to arm; but the Assembly, of which a great part were principled against war, would not come into the measure. Their conduct on this occasion gave the Administration a great deal of trouble. It made them, therefore, very unpopular both with him and his friends in power. They were considered as the most refractory of all the Governments within the British rule. From this refractoriness it was judged, either that the Quakers of Pennsylvania were not fitted to hold the reins of power there, or that the Constitution of it gave a liberty that was incompatible with the supposed interests of the Mother-Country. Hence, Lord Lyttelton was prejudiced in some measure against both,

and by association of ideas against the man who was the founder of the one, and the associate in manners, habits, and principles with the other.

The other writer alluded to, and the last whom I shall notice as having cast improper reflections upon William Penn, was the celebrated Dr. Franklin in his "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania from its Origin," published in 1759. In this Review* we find, among others, the following passages:

"At the head of this Frame or System," says he, "is a short Preliminary Discourse, a part of which serves to give us a more lively idea of William Penn preaching in Gracechurch-street, than we derive from Raphael's cartoon of Paul preaching at Athens. As a Man of Conscience he sets out; as a Man of Reason he proceeds; and as a *Man of the World*, he offers the most *plausible conditions to all, to the end that he might gain some.*"

"This Frame consisted of twenty-four articles, and savoured much of *Harrington and his Oceana.*"

"But in the following year, the scene of action being shifted from the Mother-Country to the Colony, the deportment of the Legislator was shifted too. *Less of the Man of God now appeared, and more of the Man of the World.*"

* He wrote it, though it was attributed to one Ralph, to prejudice the people against the Proprietary-family, in order to effect a change of Government from Proprietary to Royal; which was afterwards attempted, but which to his great chagrin failed. This failure laid the foundation of his animosity to Great Britain, which was so conspicuous afterwards.

" One point he had already carried against the inclination of his followers, namely, *the reservation of Quit-Rents*, which they had remonstrated against as a burden in itself, and, added to the purchase-money, was *without precedent* in any other Colony; but he *artfully distinguishing* the two capacities of Proprietary and Governor, and insinuating that Government must be supported *with splendour* and dignity, and that by this expedient they would be exempt from other taxes, *the bait took*, and the point was carried."

I shall neither dwell upon the bitter spirit, nor the sarcastic manner, in which the above sentences were dictated, nor upon the folly of supposing that the idea of supporting Government with splendour could ever have been held out by such a man as William Penn, or to such people as embarked with him in the scheme of his new Settlement; but I shall proceed at once to the history of the Quit-Rents, that I may meet the most serious of the charges they contain.

It has already appeared, that when William Penn disposed of his land, he sold it at the rate of forty shillings for every hundred acres, but reserved a quit-rent upon it of one shilling annually. He had no power of parting with it legally in any other way; for as *he held it of the Crown by a quit-rent himself*, so they who bought it were *obliged to hold it in the same manner, or they could have had no legal title to their estates*. The question then is, For whose use these quit-rents were intended? It ap-

pears by all the grants I have seen, and one is now lying on my table, that no mention whatever is made in any of them either of *Government* or of the *support of it*. William Penn also signified under his own hand, at the time of issuing these Grants, that any purchasers of land "*might buy them off, either then or at a future time, to an inconsiderable matter.*" Thus, for example, if a man's quit-rent amounted to ten shillings annually, he might buy it off within a penny or less annually; but a penny or less annually was of necessity to be left to secure his title to his estate. Now, this offer of selling the quit rents within a trifle never would have been made or allowed, *if they had been pledged to the support of the Government.* And here I may observe, that William Penn, in having done what I have stated him to do, only followed the example of other Colonies in the same part of the world. "Every planter," says Oldmixon, in his History of Carolina, "pays one penny an acre quit-rent, *unless he buys it off.*" In fact, whether we refer to Carolina or to Pennsylvania, the quit-rents were understood both by the seller and the purchasers to be *solely for the private use and benefit of the former.* It was understood in Pennsylvania by both parties, that forty shillings paid down and one shilling annually, was the consideration paid on the one hand for a hundred acres of land received on the other. This was the construction originally put upon the purchase; and the same continued to be put till the year 1708, when the Assembly, in consequence of almost

constant bickerings with the different Lieutenant-Governors, had fallen into two parties, *the Proprietary* and *the Popular*, *the one for* and *the other against* William Penn. Now it happened at this time, that the taxes had so increased as to be considered burdensome, and that the quit-rents (more land having been sold and located) had increased also. Then it was, and not till then, that the *Popular part* of the Assembly thought it would be an act of policy if they could turn these quit-rents to the support of the Government, or, in other words, to the ease of themselves and their constituents; but they never even then asserted that they had any just claim upon them for this purpose, but only that it was but reasonable that they should be so applied.

Having brought the matter to this period, I may now observe, that the idea of this appropriation of the quit-rents, when once started, was never dropped. It was so agreeable to many, and particularly of *the popular party*, that it was revived in all succeeding Assemblies, and this so often, till it is supposed that some began at length to believe that the quit-rents were (as they were then denominated) *grievances*, which they might shake off at pleasure. But if the quit-rents were reputed *grievances* in the life-time of William Penn, how much more so must they have been considered after his death, when his heirs and successors, finding the value of land increased, would not allow the Land-Office to issue new Patents without increasing them, and this to four times their former value! It was then that

Dr. Franklin wrote his book; and here it must be observed, that he was the Clerk and Printer to the Assembly, as well as a Member of it also, and that he was not of the Proprietary but of the *Popular Party*, and therefore that he partook of the popular prejudices on the occasion.

It was entirely through the same prejudiced medium that he gave an improper colouring to other of the proceedings of William Penn. Thus for example, I stated that the latter in the year 1700 ordered the Assembly to attend him at Newcastle, and not at Philadelphia as before, for that he thought it would *be but fair, and that it would be showing but a proper impartiality in him*, to summon them to the principal town of the Territories in its turn. But this, says Dr. Franklin, "*was perhaps only to gratify the inhabitants of the Territories, at a time when extraordinary demands were to be made upon them for the gratification of the Proprietary Governor.*" I stated also, that the Assembly in 1701 presented an Address to William Penn, containing twenty-one articles, in the first of which they requested him to appoint a proper successor before he left them for England; and that his reply was, that he would take care to do it; but, to show them *how much he wished to gratify them in this particular*, that he would *accept a Deputy Governor whom they might nominate themselves.* Dr. Franklin allows that he made this offer, but he adds, "*whether out of artifice or complaisance was hard to say.*" It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the best of men

may be run down, and the best of things may be perverted, if treated in this manner.

It was through the same prejudiced medium, again, that Dr. Franklin, when he had selected the first of the twenty-one articles, as just mentioned, to enable him to indulge his spleen still further against William Penn, omitted the mention of others, which it was a great dishonour to the Assembly to have proposed. But I shall decline going into these. I have no desire to lessen his just reputation. I have no desire to detract from the just merit of the Assembly, who are to be applauded for many of their public acts, and for none more, in my opinion, than for their noble resistance to war, by refusing to contribute to its support. Nor am I desirous of elevating William Penn at the expense of either. I am bound, however, to defend his character, where I think it has been injured; and in doing this I must dwell still longer on the subject. It will be proper to show, that, whatever changes took place in the Government of Pennsylvania, or dissatisfactions in the Assembly, with respect to him, they were generally to be attributed *to his absence from them;* and that, though there were persons who disapproved of his public measures, they had yet a great respect for him, and that this respect has been continued to his memory by the descendants of the same, even to the present day.

It may perhaps be remembered, that, when King William ordered the patent to be made out for restoring the Government of Pennsylvania to William

Penn, he ordered it to be put into the preamble, that *the disorders*, which had appeared there, *originated principally in his absence from it.* Few facts are more capable of proof than this. When he was in America the first time, public affairs went on, and this with *a harmony so singular*, that historians have thought proper to notice it; but *scarcely had his back been turned a year upon the Province, when dissatisfactions began.* In the beginning of 1686, being then in England, he complained over and over again of the tardiness of the council, that they could seldom be got together, and that they had neglected his letters as well as the collection of his quit-rents. For these and other reasons he found himself obliged to alter the Executive, that is, to *take it out of the hands of eighteen*, and *to put it into the hands of five.* Now this change could not but be displeasing to *the thirteen who were displaced;* for, besides the loss of their power, they would feel that they could not be considered as wholly faultless on the occasion. It appears, also, if the reader will turn to his American life for this year, that he *nominated Nicholas Moore, whom the Assembly had impeached*, to the new Executive *as an act of justice.* This latter circumstance could not but give umbrage to the Assembly, and thus were laid the seeds of dissatisfaction *in both the legislative bodies.* Now, if William Penn had been in the Province, there had *been no neglect to complain of* as it related to letters, for there had been none to write. There had *been no neglect to complain of* as it related to the collec-

tion of his quit-rents, for he would have seen to this himself: and, above all, *there had been no occasion* to alter the Executive. With respect to Nicholas Moore, it is highly probable *that he had never been impeached* if William Penn had been upon the spot, because, as I had occasion to observe in a former chapter, the open, candid, and impartial way, in which he conducted the Government when present, gave no opportunities for jealousies and suspicions; and because his temperate and conciliatory manners, and his readiness to hear and redress grievances, and his power so to do, healed them when produced.

Having thus examined the subject for 1686, I will follow it up through 1687 and 1688. In 1687 the same negligence continuing in the council, though reduced in number, William Penn was obliged to change the executive again, and to bring it into still fewer hands, that is, in the year 1688 into the hands of a Deputy Governor and two assistants. Now this change of itself would be displeasing to some; but the new Deputy Governor (Blackwell) had been in his post but a short time when he himself gave offence to others, indeed to the Assembly in general. But if William Penn had been on the spot, *no Deputy Governor had been wanted, and therefore all causes of displeasure had been cut off.* And here I must desire the particular attention of the reader to this latter change; I mean to the creation of a Deputy Governor, an appointment arising apparently out of the neces-

sity of the case, because it will unfold to him the causes of future dissatisfaction between William Penn and the Assembly; *for from this moment* may be dated the rise of the two parties, *Proprietary and Popular*, as before spoken of. The Deputy Governor had three distinct interests to attend to. He had first, if I may use the expression, to fleece for the King, then for himself, and lastly for the Proprietary, his employer. In taking care of the interest of the latter, the tendency would be rather *to increase his power and abridge that of the Assembly.* But had William Penn resided in his Province as Governor, the situation of things had been widely different. There had at any rate been but two interests to look after instead of three. To the King he would have done his duty, as far as his religious scruples permitted him; and as to the Proprietary, he would have been far more unjust to himself than to the Assembly, as all his conduct towards them has abundantly proved.

In this manner I might go on from year to year, showing that his absence was the great cause of all the misunderstandings between him and the Assembly, but that it appears to me to be unnecessary. I shall therefore proceed to show, that, notwithstanding these differences, his memory was held in veneration by the latter, and not by these only, but by persons of all descriptions in the Province.

It is worthy then of remark, that when Thomas, one of the sons of William Penn, visited Pennsylvania in 1732, about fourteen years after his fa-

ther's death, the Assembly presented him with an Address, which contained among others the following sentence: "Our long and ardent desires to see one of our honourable proprietaries among us are now fulfilled; and it is with pleasure we can say, Thou art arrived at a time when the Government is in perfect tranquillity; and that there seems to be no emulation among us, but who shall, by a peaceable and dutiful behaviour, give the best proof of the sense they have of *the blessings derived to us under our late honourable Proprietary, your father, whose goodness to his people deserves ever to be remembered with gratitude and affection.*"

In the year 1734 John Penn, the elder brother of the former, and who had been born in Pennsylvania, arrived in the Province from England also. The Assembly presented him with an Address in like manner, which began thus: "Excited by affection and gratitude, we cheerfully embrace this opportunity of congratulating thee on thy safe arrival at the place of thy nativity. When we commemorate the *many benefits* bestowed on the inhabitants of this colony, *the civil and religious liberties we possess*, and *to whom these valuable privileges*, under God and the King, *are owing*, we should be wanting to ourselves and them we represent, *did we not do justice to the memory of thy worthy ancestor, a man of principles truly humane, an advocate for religion and liberty.*"

I shall pass over the addresses which were presented to each of these on their departure for England, in which similar expressions of love and gratitude were bestowed upon their father; and I shall state at once, as an acknowledged fact in Pennsylvania, that not only was this the general feeling of the Assembly both then and afterwards, but that there were none, who more affectionately venerated the memory of William Penn, than the descendants of those very persons, who at particular periods were the loudest in their clamour against him. Nay, if I mistake not, Dr. Franklin himself was among those who highly respected him. The latter had a satirical way of expressing himself when he was not pleased, and therefore, when he found fault with William Penn, he could not get rid of his old habit; but the hostility he manifested was far more in manner than in heart. He was far more severe, and this in earnest, upon his grandsons, against whom he published a small pamphlet, where, as if no other way had been left him to expose them, it is singular that he contrasted their conduct with the virtuous example of their noble ancestor. The little ludicrous motto, which he prefixed to this work, and which was taken from John Rogers's Primer, may enable the reader to judge in part of its contents:

"I send you here a little book
That you may look upon,
That you may see your father's face,
Now he is dead and gone."

I shall conclude by stating, that, when the statue of William Penn, already mentioned to have been erected to his memory at the seat of the late Lord Le Despencer, was removed to Philadelphia, the citizens received it with joy. They restored the pedestal, and, at the expense of many hundred pounds, put it up, and inclosed it by a proper railing on the lawn on the south side of the Pennsylvania Hospital, where it now stands as a monument of their gratitude, and, through their zeal on the occasion, as emblematical of that of the whole province.

CHAPTER XXI.

View of him as a legislator upon Christian principles in opposition to those of the policy of the world—and first as it relates to the governed—his general maxims of Government—superiority of these over others as to the extension of morals—mechanism of the Government of Pennsylvania—reputed excellence of it—one defect said to belong to it—but this no defect at the time—removed by him when it became so—hence the first trait in his character as a Christian legislator, namely, his readiness to alter the Constitution with time and circumstances—second trait to be seen in his law for universal Toleration—reasons upon which it was founded—contrast between it and the opposite one under political legislators—both as to principle and effect—this law the great cause of the rapid population of Pennsylvania—third trait to be seen in the abolition of the punishment of death, and in making the reformation of the offender an object of legislative concern—comparison between this system and that of the sanguinary legislator of the world—noble effects of the former, as witnessed in its improved state at the present day.

We have now seen what William Penn was in his passage through life, both as a private and as a public person, and I have not been sparing in bring-

ing forward what were the reputed imperfections in his character. There is yet another view, which we may take of him, and where posterity have raised their voices in his favour. This will be found in the important station which he filled as a legislator, or rather as the founder and supporter of a Government upon *Christian principles* in opposition *to those of the policy of the world.* A view taken of a person acting in such a situation, and under the influence of such principles, must, I apprehend, not only be interesting of itself, but also on account of its novelty; for there is no Government, no code of law or jurisprudence in Europe, though almost all Europe is called Christendom, which has been raised upon such a foundation. The different Governments of Europe had their beginning before Christianity appeared. Hence, they were built upon Heathen notions, or false honour and superstition. All we can say of the best of them is, that, as the light of Christianity arose, certain barbarous customs and certain vicious principles of legislation were done away, and that others were substituted by degrees, which were more pure, more benevolent, and more congenial with the religion which was outwardly professed: but there is no one of these at the present day, which was founded originally upon Christianity, or which, notwithstanding its improvements, has attained to a Christian model. There is a strange mixture of Jewish, Papal, and Heathen notions in their respective codes. William Penn therefore had an opportunity in this res-

pect, which but few have had, and those only of modern times. He had the power of forming a Government afresh, by carrying over a number of Christians, who were sensible of the vicious parts of the old Governments, to a new land. "This land he so desired to obtain and to keep, as that he might not be unworthy of God's love, but do that which might answer his kind providence, and serve his Truth and People, that an example might be set up to the nations; that there was room there (in America) though not here (in England) for such an holy experiment." It is then under the sublime character *of a Christian legislator*, that I am now to view him. By a Christian legislator I mean one, who models his public actions and founds his laws, as far as his abilities permit, on the letter and spirit of the Gospel, having but one end in view throughout, the happiness of the governed, which happiness is to be produced only through means strictly moral, and by the improvement of their moral condition, and adopting, as it relates to aliens or foreigners, principles of action pure in themselves, founded in justice, of the same tendency with those established for the governed, and promotive of the same end.

The general notions of William Penn as they relate to the governed have already appeared in the course of these Memoirs, and when collected may be stated thus: He believed that Government was of divine origin, and a part as it were of Religion itself. It had two objects; to terrify evil-doers,

and to cherish those that did well. So long as it kept faithfully to these, it had a life beyond corruption. The excellence or imperfection of it depended upon the excellence or viciousness of men. Governments, says he, depend upon men rather than men upon governments. Like clocks, they go from the motion which men give them. Let men be good, and the Government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the Government be ever so good they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn. Some were of opinion that if they had good laws, it was no matter what sort of men they were who executed them; but such ought to consider, that though good laws did well, good men did much better; for good laws might want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men; but good men would never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. As to the constitution or mode of a Government, any kind of Government was free to the people under it, whatever was the frame, where the laws ruled and the people were a party to those laws; and more than this was tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion. The Constitution, however, and the manner of conducting it ought to be such as to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they might be free by their just obedience, and the Magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience was confusion, and obedience without liberty was slavery. They, who conducted it, were to see with

their own eyes and hear with their own ears. They were to cherish no informers, to use no tricks, to fly to no device to cover injustice, but to be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men. With respect to the duration of a Government, he laid it down that nothing weakened it or brought it to an end like vice. No Government could maintain its Constitution, however excellent it was, without the preservation of virtue. Kingdoms were rarely as short-lived as men; yet they also had a time to die; and as temperance gave health to men, so virtue to a kingdom; and as vice brought men betimes to the grave, so nations to their ruin. Nothing was plainer to him, than that as parents left the government at their death, their children would find it. It was far better that the world ended with the parents than that these should transmit their vices, or should sow those seeds which would ripen to the ruin of their children, and fill their country with misery when they themselves were gone. Hence he was of opinion, that one of the most important matters in which a State could be engaged was the education of those who were born in it. "That," says he, "which makes a good Constitution, must keep it, namely, men of virtue, and this can only be done by a virtuous education of the youth."——These were the general sentiments of William Penn with respect to Government. I need hardly observe, that they differ from those which are generally entertained at the present day. It is usually thought, that the abuses of a Govern-

ment are best rectified, or its model best perfected, by changing the Governors, or by altering the corrupt parts of its Constitution. William Penn, it appears, thought otherwise. He thought they were best rectified by changing, or removing the corruptions of the people. He not only makes the durability of a Government, but its intrinsic excellence, both as to form and administration, to depend upon the improvement of the morals of the latter. These his sentiments were certainly the most congenial with Christianity; for though a good Government may make a good people, the empire of virtue would be much more considerably enlarged, and much more firmly established, by acting upon the one than upon the other system.

The first subject, as it relates to the governed, which affords us the means of contemplating the character of William Penn as a Christian legislator, will be found in the mechanism or structure of his own particular Government of Pennsylvania. We have already seen the constituent parts of it. It consisted of a Governor, a Council, and an Assembly, *the two last of which were to be chosen by, and therefore to be the Representatives of, the People.* The Governor was to be perpetual President, but he was to have but *a treble vote.* It was the office of the Council to prepare and propose Bills, to see that the laws were executed, to take care of the peace and safety of the Province, to settle the situation of ports, cities, market-towns, roads, and other public places, to inspect the public Treasury, to

erect Courts of Justice, to institute schools for the virtuous education of youth, and to reward the authors of useful discovery. *Not less than two thirds of these* were necessary to make a quorum, and the consent *of not less than two thirds* of such quorum in all matters of moment. The Assembly were to have no deliberative power, but, when Bills were brought to them from the Governor and Council, to pass or reject them by a plain Yes or No. They were to present Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace to the Governor, a double number for his choice of half. They were to be chosen *annually*, and to be chosen *by secret ballot*.

Such, in few words, was the Constitution, as organised by William Penn. When it came out, it excited much conversation, and was considered by good and wise men not only as admirable in itself, out as excelling all the models which had been adopted in the other American colonies*. It appears by what has been said that the People had an

* We have a remarkable instance of the candour of Locke upon this subject. Locke, it is well known, drew up at the request of Lord Shaftesbury a Form of Government for Carolina, which then comprehended both the northern and southern districts of that name. It happened that he and William Penn, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Isaac) Newton, and others, were in company, and that the conversation turned upon the comparative excellence of the New American Governments, but particularly of those of Carolina and Pennsylvania. The matter was at length argued in the presence of the two legislators, when Locke ingenuously yielded the palm to Penn on the occasion.

extraordinary share in the Government. Though Bills were to be proposed only by the Council, the latter could scarcely introduce to the Assembly such as would become obnoxious, because a small minority could stifle them in their very birth. The members of the Assembly could not set their constituents at defiance or do injury to the State for any length of time, for they were only in office for a year; nor could constituents on the other hand, the elections being secretly conducted, be overawed in their votes, or give offence to their own detriment by the same, or lose the opportunity of choosing those who they thought would serve their country best. One defect, however, has been said to belong to the Constitution as now described. The Assembly, it has appeared, had no power to propose Bills, nor had they any deliberative power over those which were sent to them. This exclusion of them from the privileges of the Council has been complained of as a great oversight in William Penn. It has been considered as an unnecessary infringement upon freedom, and as depriving the State of the talents of many who might have served it. To this however it may be replied, that William Penn *adapted his Constitution to existing circumstances*, and that he considered certain parts of it *merely as parts for trial.* Men, who had houses to build for immediate shelter, lands to clear and cultivate for immediate support, roads to construct, and provision to make against all the accidents to which new settlements in a wilderness were liable, had but lit-

tle opportunity for legislation or time to waste in debate. It was far better for the Province, that William Penn, who had studied the subject, and who was a man of great resources, should take upon himself, in conjunction with a few, in this infancy of things, the proposal of what was necessary: and this was the opinion of that great and liberal lawyer Sir William Jones, then Attorney-General, a man who would rather have given new rights to almost any extent, than have withheld the least, if any such could have been conducive to a good end. It throws no small weight into the scale to say, that this excellent person both revised and approved of the Constitution of William Penn, as it was originally offered. The alleged defect then was no defect at the time: but when it became so it was removed; for it must be brought to the recollection of the reader, that in about fourteen years after this time, namely, in 1696, when houses had been erected in numbers, lands had been cleared to a considerable extent, many difficulties and impediments removed, and men began to have leisure, so that the Assembly found that they could exercise the privilege which had been denied them, and were desirous of so doing, William Penn sanctioned an alteration of the Constitution to this end, by giving them the power of preparing and proposing whatever Bills they were of opinion would tend in their operation to the public good. Let it be brought also to his recollection, that in the year 1701, when the constitution was again altered, he confirmed the privilege. For this

he obtained something like an encomium from an opponent. "On the other hand," says Dr. Franklin, in his 'Historical View of the Government of Pennsylvania,' "the Assembly, who could not propound laws, though they might amend or reject them, were put in possession of that privilege, and upon the whole, there was much more room for acknowledgments than complaints." How much soever the Governor had grown upon Mr. Penn, and how much soever his concern for others had worn off when raised to a sphere above them, it is plain he had not forgotten his own Trial, nor the noble Commentary upon Magna Charta, which in his tract called 'The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted' he had upon that occasion made public, wherein he says, "that there were but two sorts of Government, namely, Will and Power, or Condition and Contract; that the first was a Government of Men, the second of Laws; that universal Reason was and ought to be among rational beings universal Law; that of Laws some *were fundamental and immutable; some temporary, made for present convenience, and for convenience to be changed;* that the fundamental Laws of England were of all laws most abhorrent of Will and Pleasure; and that till houses should stand without their own foundations, and Englishmen ceased to be Englishmen, they could not be cancelled, nor the subjects deprived of the benefits of them."

It will appear then, from the view I have taken of what has been considered as a defective part of his

Government, that he deserves, first, the character of a wise Legislator *by the adaptation of his system to existing circumstances*, and, secondly, that of a virtuous one *by his willingness to relinquish a part of it when a new situation of things rendered it desirable.* If the end of Government be the general happiness—and if its excellence, the happy manner of its administration, and its durability, depend upon virtue—then it is the duty of a Christian Governor to be willing to promote every change which may conduce to the improvement of the rational liberty or of the moral condition of the governed. I know of no instance where a Legislator can display his Christian character to more advantage than in this; and it was in this that William Penn so eminently shone. He was always willing to change for the better, always willing to alter rationally with the times. In 1683 he told the Assembly, "that they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and that he was ready to settle such foundations with them as might be for their happiness, according to the powers vested in him." In 1701, when he was about to leave them to go to England, he exhorted them, "seeing all men were mortal, to think of some suitable expedient for their safety as well in their privileges as in their property, and to review again their Laws, and propose new ones that might better suit their circumstances." Here then lies the difference between the Christian Statesman and the Politician of the World. The former, *loving Virtue, will be pliant and always ready to obey its call.*

The latter, *loving Power, will be unwilling to part with it.* Can any thing be more obvious than that, as the moral and political states of kingdoms change, the Laws of the same should in some measure be changed also; or that Laws passed in the days of ferocity, ignorance, and superstition, are unfit for a civilized people? And yet how obstinate have political Governors been in retaining them, though they themselves have acknowledged them to be useless! Hence letters of blood, though dead letters in themselves, continue to stain the Statute Books even of enlightened Legislatures to the present day.

The next opportunity we shall have of seeing William Penn in the character of a Christian Legislator in opposition to that of the Legislator of the World will be in the examination of some of his Laws. Among these I cannot but notice, and prior to all others, that noble one which related to Liberty of Conscience, or universal Toleration of Faith and Worship. The arguments by which he was influenced on this subject have already appeared; but as they lie scattered in different parts of the Work, I shall collect them, and bring them under one point of view, that we may see more distinctly the foundation on which it stood. It was, he conceived, the prerogative of God alone to preside in matters of religious Faith. God alone was the Judge of Conscience. All mistakes about religion were known to him only. Hence earthly Governors, though it was both their inte-

rest and their duty to support Religion, had no right to erect a tribunal whereby to make themselves judges of religious Faith. They were the Kings of men but not of consciences. They had nothing to do with men but as civil subjects, such as adultererers, thieves, murderers, and those whose principles were subversive of industry, fidelity, justice, and obedience. Those, on the other hand, who lived soberly and honestly, who gave no offence to others, and obeyed all Laws of a civil and moral nature, were entitled, notwithstanding a difference of creed, to their protection. But if the said Governors, who were fallible men, established propositions as Articles of Faith and as bonds of Christian communion, (propositions formed by their own fallible interpretation of the Scriptures,) and excluded those from civil privileges who could not conscientiously conform to them, and moreover subjected them to severe penalties and punishments for this their nonconformity thereto, then the said Governors were guilty of the crime of usurping the prerogative of Heaven. Such conduct on the part of the Governors was, besides, unreasonable. It was unreasonable to punish any man in this world about the things which belonged to the next. It was unreasonable again, because the mind of man could not be convinced by other arguments than those which were adequate to its own nature. Fines and imprisonments could never be fit punishments for faults that were purely intellectual. It was, besides, pre-

sumptuous; because no Governor could say that his own was the true Faith. It was also unjust; for nothing could be more unjust than to sacrifice the liberty and property of any man, where he was not found breaking any law which related to natural or civil things. It was a war against pious living, which ought to be the only test of the value of men as moral beings. It was pure oppression, first, because it attempted to prevent what was never likely to happen; for a diversity of religious opinions never yet endangered a State: and, secondly, because it always missed of its end; for force might make hypocrites, but could never make converts. Violence never made a true convert, nor bodily punishment a sincere Christian. Lastly, such conduct was against both the letter and the spirit of the Christian religion. In no part of Divine Writ could it be found, that Christ or his Apostles had laid down Articles of Faith as necessary for Christian communion, and they were not wanting to declare the whole counsel of God to the Church. Christ, on the other hand, prohibited all force in producing an uniformity of religious opinion. He reproved the zeal of those who would have called down fire from heaven on the Samaritans, because the latter would not receive him. He opposed them again, when on seeing a man casting out devils in his name they forbad him, because he would not follow them. He directly took off the prohibition; thus reversing the judgment they had given. He said expressly, at

another time, that there were not many masters in his church, but one. He desired that the tares and the wheat might be allowed to grow up together till the harvest. The Apostles conducted themselves in the same manner. They used no carnal weapons in the propagation of their religion. Their swords were all of them spiritual, and it was by these that they overcame. They inculcated also the same doctrine. Who art thou, says the Apostle Paul, who judgest another man's servant? They recommended Love or Charity as the most noble of all the Christian duties, and the most worthy of the character of their divine Master. Christ came to us in Love. He died, and died for us also, in Love. His religion was founded in Love. It commanded us also to do as we would be done by. Thus we were not to hate, persecute, and oppress each other, and much less for a mere difference in religious Faith.

These then were the arguments by which the mind of William Penn was influenced on the subject of religious Liberty; and knowing how essential such liberty was to the happiness of mankind, and what man was capable of under the dominion of bigotry and superstition, he dared not as a Christian, when he had a new state to form, do otherwise than establish an universal Toleration there. This he did in the most ample manner. Jews, Turks, Catholics, Presbyterians, and people of all persuasions in religion, were to be entirely free both as to their Faith and Worship,

while they conducted themselves properly as citizens. "Because," says he, "no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences as to religious profession and worship; and Almighty God being the only Lord of Conscience, Father of Lights and Spirits, and the Author as well as Object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only doth enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people, I do hereby grant and declare, that no person or persons inhabiting this Province or Territories, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World, and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil Government, shall be in any case molested or prejudiced in his or their person or estate because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry, contrary to his or their mind, or to do or suffer any other act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion." And so impressed was he upon this subject, as a matter of Christian duty, that he determined in his Charter that the above law should be one of those *which were never to be changed.* "And because," says he, "the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of the Liberty of their consciences as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise, and grant, for me and my heirs

and assigns, that the first article of this Charter, relating to Liberty of Conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true meaning and intent thereof, shall be kept and remain, without any alteration, inviolably for ever."

Here then we see him again under the sublime light of a Christian Legislator, making Liberty of Conscience the grand corner-stone of his civil edifice. What a contrast does this afford to the conduct of those who have legislated in this department on the policy of the world! The one appears to have been actuated by the spirit of Love, Mercy, and Peace; the others by that of Pride, Presumptuousness, and Revenge. And as the contrast is great between them as it relates to the principle of Legislation on this subject, so it is equally great as it relates to its effects. Behold in the one case happiness diffused throughout the land, and on the other misery and ruin; behold imprisonments, burnings, deaths in various shapes, so that volumes are filled with the cries and groans of martyrs; in the survey of which one painful reflection cannot but present itself to our minds, namely, that these sufferings were not confined to the instrumentality of men who worshipped in Heathen temples, or in the Roman Catholic church.

Nor will the contrast be less, if we look at the effects of the two systems in another point of view. Is it or is it not true, that thousands and tens of thousands have left their respective countries in consequence of the fear of persecution for religion?

and is it or is it not true, that thousands and tens of thousands flocked, on the account of the prospect of religious liberty, to the land of William Penn? Indeed it is to this great principle in his Government, and to this principally, that historians have attributed the rapid population of his colony, rapid almost beyond credibility, and certainly beyond example*. Anderson, in his "Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce," when speaking of Pennsylvania, writes thus: "The same year gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America.——Mr. William Penn, an eminent Quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time.——He carried thither with him a large embarkation of Quakers, afterwards from time to time joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. On his first arrival there he found many English families in it, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations, which highly merit to be known to all persons who would apply to colonizing. The *true wisdom as well as equity of his unlimited toleration of all religious persuasions*, as well as his kind, just, and prudent treatment of the native In-

* William Penn laid out the plan for Philadelphia in 1682. He died in 1718. In this latter year Philadelphia contained about 1400 houses, and 10,000 inhabitants, and his dominions, altogether, about 60,000 people. In 1760, when Anderson's book came out, there were about 3000 houses in Philadelphia, 20,000 inhabitants, and altogether in towns, cities, and country, 200,000 people.

dians, also his Laws, Policy, and Government, so endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread the fame of his whole œconomy, that, *although so lately planted*, it is thought at this day (about the year 1760) *to have more white people in it, than any other colony on all the continent of English America*, New England alone excepted." Edmund Burke, in his "Account of the European Settlements in America," speaks much in the same manner. "Neither was William Penn himself wanting in any thing which could encourage them; for he expended large sums in transporting and finding them in all necessaries; and not aiming at a sudden profit, he disposed of his land at a very light purchase. But what crowned all was that noble charter of privileges, by which he made them as free as any people in the world, and which has since drawn such vast numbers of so many different persuasions and such various countries to put themselves under the protection of his laws. He made the *most perfect freedom, both religious and civil, the basis of his establishment; and this has done more towards the settling of the Province, and towards the settling of it in a strong and permanent manner, than the wisest regulations could have done on any other plan.* All persons, who profess to believe in one God, are freely tolerated. Those who believe in Jesus Christ, of whatever denomination, are not excluded from employments and posts." Jedidiah Morse, in his "American Geography," throws out a sentiment to the same purport. "By the favourable terms which

Mr. Penn offered to settlers, and *an unlimited toleration of all religious denominations, the population of the Province was extremely rapid.*" I may quote also John Gough on the occasion, in his "History of the People called Quakers from their first Rise to the present Time."——"That the welfare," says he, "and happiness of the people is the end of Government, is a proposition maintained in theory in other States, but in Pennsylvania it was reduced to practice. A Government established on so equitable, liberal, and useful a plan induced *great numbers of people of different persuasions to emigrate from various countries to participate in the privileges* and felicity of this equal Government, *the basis of which was religious and civil liberty:* and for a length of time, under the pleasing sensation of the ease, security, and change for the better, which they felt from their removal hither, people of different nations, complexions, and ways of thinking lived together in a state of society beautiful in prospect, and happy enjoyment in mutually giving and receiving the benefit of an equality of privileges in peace, amity, and benevolence, although not belonging to the same visible church, yet as belonging to the same fraternity of mankind."

Another survey of William Penn as a Christian Legislator may be taken from the consideration of some of his criminal laws. There are two, which particularly claim our notice upon this subject. The first of these *abolished the punishment of death*, except in the case, where "whosoever shed man's

blood, by man should his blood be shed." The second ordained, *that all prisons should be workshops*. By these two laws it is obvious that he afforded a Christian pattern for legislation, for one of the principles upon which he proceeded therein, *was the reformation of the offender*. By taking away his life, all hope of this was destroyed. By sparing it, opportunity was given him for amendment, and this opportunity was to be improved by the introduction of habits of industry. The author of "The Picture of Philadelphia," in speaking of the first of these laws, writes thus: "The humanity of William Penn revolted at the sanguinary punishments of Britain, and he therefore attempted an amelioration of the penal code. He abolished the ancient oppression of forfeitures for self-murder, and deodands in all cases of homicide. He saw the wickedness of exterminating, where it was possible to reform. He endeavoured, therefore, to prevent the operation of the system, which the Charter imposed, and amongst the first cares of his administration was that of forming a small, concise, but complete code of criminal law. Murder wilful and premeditated is the only crime for which the infliction of death is prescribed, and this is declared to be enacted in obedience to the laws of God, as though there had not been any political necessity even for the punishment; but no man could be convicted but upon the testimony of two witnesses. Execution also was to be stayed, till the record of conviction had been laid before the Executive, and full opportunity given to obtain a pardon

for the offence." These were undoubtedly the sentiments of William Penn. *He saw*, as this author observes, *the wickedness of exterminating, where it was possible to reform.* He considered the punishment of death, in all other cases but murder, as barbarous both in its origin, its manner, and its effects. He conceived *there was no warrant in Christianity to legislators to take away life at all.* The great end of punishment was undoubtedly *to deter, or to prevent others from the commission of crimes;* but, on the other hand, it was the great object of the Christian religion *to reclaim.* Christ came principally for this purpose upon earth. He came to call sinners to repentance. He came, not to destroy, but to save. There was more joy in Heaven over one sinner that repented, than over ninety-nine just persons, who needed no repentance. He conceived, therefore, that it was the duty of a Christian legislator so to blend both these objects, that they might go hand in hand together; and he was convinced, that they were compatible with each other, because there were other modes of punishments, which would deter equally with that of death. Here then we are enabled to compare him again with the legislator on the policy of the world. How mean and little, how wanting in generosity and intellect, does the latter appear beside him! He consigns hundreds of his fellow-creatures to an untimely death, and this for an hundred offences. His system embraces no one principle that is amiable. It has no vitals—no bowels,—it discovers no feeling for his

fellow-man; no brotherly love towards him; no regard for him as a rational and moral being; no concern for his eternal interests. It views him only as a beast, whom, if he be noxious, he must destroy; because, having no reason, he has not that, by which he can either be deterred or reclaimed.

It is not necessary that I should enter into a comparison between the merits of the two systems. It will be sufficient to shew the effects of that which was suggested by William Penn. These however we shall not be able to see, until we know how the two laws, which gave birth to it, were afterwards improved upon, and to what length they were carried. I may observe then, that they were both of them in use in Pennsylvania till the reign of Queen Anne. In the year 1705 she abolished the merciful one which spared the life of the criminal on so many occasions, as not consonant with the English law. She restored it however shortly afterwards, and probably at the intercession of William Penn, and it continued in force for many years, or till the time of his death. After this event the statute and common law of the mother country was again put into its place, and this statute and common law was then acted upon contrary to the judgment and wishes of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, till after the Revolution in British America and its consequent independence. At this epoch an opportunity being given to each State to make its own laws, the Pennsylvanians restored it to its native station, and placed it on a glorious permanency. They were now enabled to

do justice to all the legislative propositions of their founder, by allowing them their full scope. Accordingly they revised the other law before mentioned, namely, that *which placed all prisons upon the footing of workshops;* and bearing this idea in their minds, they produced at length a system of criminal jurisprudence, by means of the two, which stands unparalleled as to excellence in the history of the world. By this system, as it obtains at the present day, it appears that wilful and premeditated murder is the only capital offence in Pennsylvania. All other crimes are punished by fine, imprisonment, and labour. All convicted criminals are expected to maintain themselves out of their own labour, as well as to defray the expenses of their commitment, prosecution, and trial. Accordingly, an account is regularly kept against them; and if, when the term of their imprisonment is expired, any surplus money is due to them on account of their work, it is given to them on their discharge. The price of prison-labour in its various departments is settled by the inspectors of the gaol and those who employ the criminals. No corporal punishment is allowed in the prison, nor can any criminal be put in irons, it being the object not to degrade him, but to induce him to be constantly looking up to the restoration of his dignity as a man, and to the recovery of his moral character. No intercourse is allowed between the males and the females, nor between the untried and convicted prisoners. All unnecessary conversation is forbidden. Profane swearing is never

overlooked. A watch is kept, that no spirituous liquors be introduced. Care is taken, that all the prisoners have the benefit of religious instruction. The prison is accordingly open at stated times to the pastors of the different religious denominations of the place. A hope is held out to the prisoners, that the time of their confinement may be shortened by their good behaviour. To realize this, the inspectors have a power of interceding for their enlargement, and the executive Government of granting it, if they think it proper. If they are refractory, they are put into solitary confinement, and deprived of the opportunity of working. During all this time the expenses of their maintenance are going on, so that they have an interest in returning to their obedience, and the sooner the better; for the sooner they get into employment again the sooner they are enabled to liquidate the debt, which, since the suspension of their labour, has been accruing on account of their board and washing to the gaol. These are the present regulations; the consequence of which is, that they who visit the criminals in the gaol of Philadelphia, seeing no chains or fetters, but industry going on unshackled in various departments, have no other idea of it than of a free workshop, or of a large and general manufactory, where people have consented to work together, or to follow in the same place their respective trades. In consequence of these regulations, great advantages have arisen both to the criminals and to the State. The State, it is said, has experienced a diminution

of crimes to the amount of one half since this change in the penal system, and the criminals have been restored in a great proportion from the gaol to the community as reformed persons. Hence, little or no stigma has been attached to them after their discharge for having been confined there. They, indeed, who have had permission to leave it before the time expressed in the sentence, have been considered as persons not unfit to be taken into families, or confidentially employed. It may be observed also, that some of the most orderly and industrious, and such as have worked at the most profitable trades, have had sums of money to take on leaving the prison, by which they have been enabled to maintain themselves till they have got into desirable and permanent employ. Here then is a code of penal law built upon the Christian principle of the reformation of the offender. To dwell longer upon its merits would be useless. Let it only be remembered, that this system *obtains no where but in Pennsylvania*, and that it *is the direct germ*, only trained up by other hands, *of the root that was planted in the Constitution of that country by William Penn.*

CHAPTER XXII.

View of him as a statesman upon Christian principles as it relates to aliens or foreigners—first, as to Dutch and Swedes—secondly, as to the aborigines or Indians—his Christian object in connecting himself with these—his Christian conduct towards them—honourable and grateful result to him and his followers from the same—object and conduct of those towards the same who have proceeded upon the policy of the world—miserable result to the latter—peculiar reason of this result—his object in the way of being accomplished by his descendants—thirdly as to the Negroes or Slaves—his Christian conduct towards these—happy effects of the same—misery produced by those who have had any concern with them on the principle of the policy of the world.

We have seen William Penn in the character of a Statesman as it relates to the governed. We are now to see him as he conducted himself in a similar capacity towards aliens or strangers. Of these the first were the Dutch and Swedes, who inhabited the Territories which had been ceded to him by the Duke of York, and of whom I shall say no more, than that on his first arrival in Pennsylvania he comprehended all of them in one great Bill of Naturalization, admitting them to all the civil and religious

privileges which those of his own countrymen enjoyed who had been the companions of his voyage.

Among the aliens or foreigners more particularly to be noticed we may first reckon the Indians; for, though they were the natives, indeed the aborigines, of the country, they were yet aliens with respect to him. And here we shall find him treading in the same Christian path as before, and have an opportunity of again contrasting the Statesman of the Gospel with that of the mere Politician of the World.

The great object which William Penn had in view, in connecting himself with the Indians, was that which was expressed in the Charter, namely, "to reduce the savage Nations by just and gentle manners to the love of civil society and the Christian religion." A nobler object, or one of more divine origin, or one more full of philanthropy or love, never occupied the human heart. It was founded on peace and good-will to man. It was to bring heathen nations from darkness to light, to teach them to become honest and useful members of society, and to spread the knowledge of Christ's kingdom. The very thought was as bold as it was lovely. It soared above all obstacle or danger. It comprehended at once a trust in Providence, which seemed to assure him, at the moment, of the accomplishment of the design.

The means proposed to be used were, it appears, as pure and as amiable as the object. How far he adopted them, we shall be enabled to see by look-

ing over these Memoirs; and these will furnish us with the following connected account. In the Conditions made and signed between the Adventurers and himself it was stipulated, before any man was allowed to sail to the New Land, that whatever was to be sold to the Indians in consideration of their furs should be sold in the public market-place, and there suffer the test whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the natives might not be abused or provoked; that no Adventurer or Planter should in word or deed wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the Law as if he had committed it against his Fellow-Adventurer or Planter; that if any Indian should abuse in word or deed any Adventurer or Planter of the Province, the said Adventurer or Planter should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but lay his complaint before the Magistracy; and that all differences between the two should be ended by twelve men, that is, six Adventurers or Planters and six Indians. Having signed these Conditions, they were at liberty to sail. Among the passengers in the ships were Commissioners. As his religious principles did not permit him to look upon the King's Patent, or legal possession according to the Laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the Country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom alone it properly belonged, he instructed these to pay for whatever portions the latter might be willing to dispose of. He instructed them also to confirm

with them a league of eternal peace, and to treat them with all possible candour, justice, and humanity. In a letter sent to them by the same Commissioners, he expressed his desire to enjoy the Land only with their love and consent, and to gain their love and friendship only by a kind, just, and peaceable life. When the Commissioners and Settlers landed, they erected no forts, nor carried any hostile weapon. When afterwards in 1682 he arrived himself, he exhibited the same inoffensive appearance, and the same confidence in their justice. At the Great Treaty both he and all his Followers appeared equally defenceless, and this amidst a nation in arms. "It was not his custom," he said, "to use weapons of destruction against his fellow-creatures; for which reason he had come unarmed. He and his Friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. He should consider them as of the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts." In his second voyage in 1700 he renewed his former treatment towards them. He showed the same regard to justice in all his dealings with them, and the same tender care and concern for them both as to their temporal and spiritual welfare. Accordingly he proposed to his own Monthly Meeting in the same year means, which were acceded to, for a more frequent intercourse between them and Friends, he taking upon himself the manner of it as well as the charge of procuring

interpreters for the purpose. Soon after this he introduced a legislative Act, which was to be binding upon all, both in the Province and Territories, for preventing abuses upon them; and though he did not carry it, both his justice and his good-will towards them were equally manifested by it. His intercourse, however, with them became purposely more frequent after this period, and it was always directed towards their good. In the year following he conferred with his Council as to the best means of keeping up a friendly, useful, and moral communication with them, as far as the Executive could do it. Hence persons were selected for their integrity to form a Company with a joint stock, and to be authorised by the Government to trade with them. These were to keep them from spirituous liquors as much as possible, and to use all reasonable means to bring them to a true sense of the value of Christianity, but particularly by setting before them examples of probity and candour, and to have them instructed in the fundamentals of it: in short, they were to make their trading concerns with them subservient to the promotion of the Christian religion. When he took his leave of them before he departed for England the last time, he said with much tenderness, "that he had always loved them and been kind to them, and ever should continue so to be, not through any politic design, but from a most real affection." He then charged the Members of the Council to behave to them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good-will, as himself had ever

done; and having received from these an assurance that his request should be complied with, he took his final leave of them.

It is a law of our nature, where benefits have been generously conferred, that there is a disposition to return them; and gratitude, it will appear by the sequel, is not excluded from the hearts of those who live in an uncivilized state of society, or who are reputed barbarous. It was an observation of William Penn, with respect to the Indians, "Do not abuse them, but let them have but justice, and you win them, where there is such a knowledge of good and evil." It will be pleasing, therefore, to record what return they made him for all the care and kindness which he had bestowed upon them; and this will appear so great, I may say so unexampled, that either his own munificence must have been of much larger dimensions than we have been accustomed to see, or their hearts must have beaten with a pulse which has seldom vibrated in the human breast.

I may observe then, that the first result of his treatment of them showed itself in a grateful return on their part by kind and friendly offices both to himself and followers. They became indeed the benefactors of the Colonists. When the latter were scattered abroad in 1682, and without houses or food, the Indians, as I have before shown, were remarkably kind and attentive to them. They hunted for them frequently, doing their utmost to feed them. They considered them all as the chil-

dren of William Penn; and, looking upon him ever since the Great Treaty as their Father, they treated them as Brothers. Richard Townsend, who has been before mentioned, confirms the above account. "And as our worthy Proprietor," says he, "treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought us in abundance of venison." As to William Penn himself, "having now such an one as he," they said, "they would never do him any wrong." Some of the Kings even presented him with parcels of land; and in the year 1701, which was the last of his residence among them, several of the Tribes, on hearing that he was going to leave the country, left their woods, and went purposely down to Philadelphia to take their leave of him, as a mark of respect and gratitude to their greatest human benefactor.

A second result was manifested in their peaceful and affectionate conduct towards the Settlers, so that the latter had no fear, though in a defenceless state, for their personal safety, but lived among them, though reputed savages, as among their best friends and protectors. "As in other countries," continues the same Richard Townsend, "the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here by our worthy Proprietor hath produced their love and affection." We find by a manuscript written by a passenger in one of the vessels which carried over some of the first Set-

tlers, the following account: "A providential Hand was very conspicuous and remarkable in many instances which might be mentioned.—The Indians were even rendered our benefactors and protectors.—Without any carnal weapon we entered the land, and inhabited therein as safe as if there had been thousands of Garrisons." Again: "This little State," says Oldmixon, "subsisted in the midst of six Indian nations without so much as a militia for its defence." And this peaceable State, says Proud, "was never interrupted for more than seventy years, or so long as the Quakers retained power in the government sufficient to influence a friendly and just conduct towards them, and to prevent or redress such misunderstandings and grievances as occasionally happened between them and any of the inhabitants of the Province." To this it may be added, that as far as the Indians and Quakers (who may be considered as the descendants of William Penn) were concerned, the Great Treaty *was never violated*, a good understanding subsisting at this moment between them and the descendants of the original tribes.

A third result was seen in the extraordinary regard which the Indians preserved for the memory of William Penn after he had left them, and which appears to have been handed down from father to son in a manner so lively and impressive, that it will be difficult ever to eradicate it from their minds. In the year 1721, that is, twenty years after he had left the Province, a conference was held

at Conestogo between the five nations, consisting of the Maquase, the Oneidas, the Onondagoes, the Cayougas, and the Senecas, and Sir William Keith, who was then Governor of Pennsylvania. The Chief Speaker on the part of the Indians said, among other things, with a countenance which showed great respect, "*that they should never forget the counsel which William Penn gave them;* and that, though they could not write as the English did, yet they could keep in their memory what was said in their Councils."

In the following year, that is, in 1722, the same five nations held another conference with Sir William Keith. They met then at Albany. Sir William laid his business before them. The Chief of the Indians made a reply in behalf of those assembled. The following is an extract from his speech: "Brother Onas! You have told us that at the time you brightened the covenant chain between us, you wished it might be clear and lasting as the sun and stars in heaven, for which we thank you. And we being now all present do in the most solemn and public manner renew the covenant, and brighten the chain made between us, that the lustre thereof may never be obscured by any clouds or darkness, but may shine as clear and last as long as the sun in the firmament. Brother Onas! You have likewise told us how William Penn, *who was a good man*, did at his first settlement of the province of Pennsylvania make leagues of friendship with the Indians and treated them like brethren, and that,

like the same good man, he left it in charge to all his Governors who should succeed him, and to all the people of Pennsylvania, that they should always keep the covenants and treaties which he made with the five nations, and treat them with love and kindness. We acknowledge that his Governors and people have always kept the same honestly and truly to this day; so we on our part always have kept and for ever shall keep firm peace and friendship with a good heart to all the people of Pennsylvania. We thankfully receive and approve of all the articles in your proposition to us, and acknowledge them to be good and full of love. We receive and approve of the same with our whole hearts, because we are not only made one people by the covenant chain, but we also are people united in one head, one body, and one heart, by the strongest ties of love and friendship. Brother Onas! We say further, *we are glad to hear the former treaties made with William Penn repeated to us again, and renewed by you, and we esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself.*"

In the year 1742 a treaty was made at Philadelphia by George Thomas, Esq. then Governor of Pennsylvania, with the six nations, when Canassatego, Chief of the Onondagoes, said, "*We are all very sensible of the kind regard which that good man, William Penn, had for all the Indians.*"

At a Council held with the Seneca and other Indians in Philadelphia in 1749, in the Administra-

tion of James Hamilton, Esq., Ogaushtash in a part of his speech thus expressed himself: We recommend it to the Governor to tread in the steps *of those wise people who have held the reins of government before him, in being good and kind to the Indians.* Do, Brother, make it your study to consult the interest of our nations. As you have so large an authority, you can do us much good or harm. We would therefore engage your influence and affections for us, that the same harmony and mutual affection may subsist during your government, *which so happily subsisted in former times; nay, from the first settlement of this Province by our good friend the great William Penn.*"

At a treaty held at Easton in Pennsylvania with the Indians in 1756, during the Administration of Governor Morris, Teedyuscung, the Delaware Chief, spoke as follows: "Brother Onas, and the people of Pennsylvania! We rejoice to hear from you, that you are willing to renew *the ancient good understanding*, and that you call to mind the first treaties of friendship *made by Onas, our great Friend*, deceased with our forefathers, when himself and his people first came over here. We take hold of these treaties with both our hands, and desire you will do the same, that a good understanding and true friendship may be re-established. Let us both take hold of these treaties, we beseech you: we on our side will certainly do it."

Again, on concluding a peace in July, the same year, Teedyuscung said, "I wish the same good

Spirit, *that possessed the good old man William Penn*, who *was a friend to the Indians*, may inspire the people of this Province at this time."

In this manner I might go on by extracting from the speeches made at the Indian treaties for a longer period. Suffice it to say, that the Indians perpetuated the memory of William Penn by giving the name of Onas to every succeeding Governor of Pennsylvania, and that they called the Quakers, his descendants, either Brothers Onas, or the Sons of the Friends of Onas, at the present day.

Having now seen William Penn in the character of a Christian Statesman as he was concerned with one of the classes of aliens in his dominions; that is, having seen his object in connecting himself with these, and the means which he employed to promote it; and having witnessed the brilliant result of his endeavours both as to himself and his followers, I must inquire into the motives, conduct, and success of those Statesmen who have visited foreigners and made establishments among them, but who have proceeded on the old plan of political expediency, or, as the phrase more usually is, on the policy of the world.

It is a grievous matter to be obliged to begin with stating, that, though Christianity has been preached nearly two thousand years, I know of no Prince, Statesman, or Governor, who has opened an intercourse with barbarous nations for the sole and express purpose "of reducing (as William Penn's Charter expresses it) the savage natives to the love

of civil society and the Christian religion;" or (as his Petition for the same has it) "of promoting the glory of God by the conversion of the Gentiles to Christ's kingdom." Good men, I mean individuals, have visited foreign lands with this amiable view, and have exposed themselves to hardships and dangers, and indeed have given up their lives to the cause. Witness the Moravians and other estimable persons. But among the Governments of the world since the Christian æra, no one, that I have heard of, ever made an establishment among unenlightened nations for this especial purpose. Their object has been generally avarice or ambition, or, in other words, to promote conquest or extend trade. Need I bring in proof of this the early history of our own establishments in Africa and Asia, that those by the Dutch on the same continents, that of of those by the Spaniards and Portuguese in Africa and South America, or that of those by others professing the Christian name? It would seem therefore as if William Penn stood alone as a Statesman in the promotion of the object as now explained. Not even in the neigbouring colonies of North America, settled there either prior to or about this period, had any one of the founders the same views in this respect as William Penn. Some emigrated there under leaders or governors purely upon motives of speculation. Others, it must be admitted, did the same with a more laudable intention, both of affording and of finding an asylum from religious persecution, and of establishing re-

ligious freedom. But these advantages were wholly for themselves, or for those who forwarded the adventure. The benefit of the natives, among whom they were to settle, was never included in the account.

The conduct too, which they manifested after their arrival there, did not consist of "those just and gentle manners" which the Pennsylvanian Charter prescribed. The first thing they did was to raise forts, to make a show with their arms, to exercise themselves in the same, and to present themselves, though few in number, under the aspect of a warlike and formidable people. Having secured themselves in this manner, they too frequently took advantage of the ignorance of the natives. They tried rather to outwit them than to be just. For this purpose they introduced spirituous liquors among them. Their measures in short too generally partook both of fraud and violence, so that we have often occasion to blush for their proceedings and for the honour of the christian name.

It will not be a matter of surprise, but on the other hand to be expected, that a conduct in itself barbarous should be accompanied by a barbarous result. Accordingly we find a great difference between the treatment of these, and of those who settled on the same continent under the auspices of William Penn. Oldmixon says, "they (the Indians) have been very civil to the English (Pennsylvanians), who never lost man, woman, or child by them (A. 1708); which neither the colony of Maryland, nor that of

Virginia, can say, no more than the great colony of New England." Hence, we find in the same author that the Indians of Maryland, Carolina, Virginia, and of the Massachusetts, murdered the English, and that the colonists of these parts were obliged to keep a strong militia against them. The fact is, that, generally speaking, the first settlers in these provinces, and those who succeeded them, were great sufferers from the natives. There were times when they could neither cultivate their fields nor travel on their business without fear of destruction by the latter, and when they were obliged to retire to and to live in garrison for their safety.

It will be unnecessary, I apprehend, to refer to history for specific instances in confirmation of the above statement. It will be far more profitable to enquire, what was the reason, if one can be pointed out more distinctly than another, why the settlers under William Penn should have been so singularly preserved, while so many of the others were destroyed? The answer to this inquiry, it will be said, will be that which I have already given, namely, that a general bad conduct may be expected to be accompanied by a general bad result. But this answer is not precise enough to be admitted in the present case; for, next to William Penn, the Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, who has been already mentioned to have had the honour of being the first American Governor to allow a full Toleration in religion, conducted himself in the most unexceptionable manner, in his province of Maryland, towards

those Indians who surrounded him; and yet these, when they had been provoked by the Virginians, did not stop their ravages when within the Territories of the latter, but carried destruction with them; whereas, whatever the quarrels of the Pennsylvanian Indians were with others, they uniformly respected and held as it were as sacred the Territories of William Penn. The truth is, that the Marylanders carrying with them from Europe their old principles and prejudices, or in other words *acting upon the policy of the world*, began to build forts and to show themselves in arms, and this, *not after they had received any provocation to justify the measure*, but *merely on the anticipation*, or *from the fear*, *that, the natives in the vicinity being reputed barbaroüs, they might be subjected to insults, and ultimately destroyed.* The conduct on the part of the Maryland-settlers, though it had no offensive intention in it, was yet sufficient to infuse a suspicion into the minds of the natives, that they were not the friendly people they professed. It *exhibited the power*, and therefore *it conveyed the notion, of annoyance;* whereas the motives of William Penn, when he made similar professions, could neither be questioned nor mistaken; for it must have been obvious to the least discerning of the natives around him, that having no fort, no cannon, no pistol, no sword, but only a few fowling pieces for defence against wild beasts, or to procure food on urgent occasions, they *could have nothing to fear either from him or his followers*; for the latter *had put it totally out of*

their own power to injure them. Thus going among them *upon the principle of the Gospel*, or carrying with them the Quaker principle, that all war was against both the letter and spirit of Christianity, he and they became armed, though without arms; they became strong, though without strength; they became safe, though without the ordinary means of safety; and I am convinced, that the history of the different American colonies now under our consideration will bear me out in asserting, that this was the true reason, why in the one case the settlers were so singularly preserved, and why they were subjected to such fears and suffering in the other.

In appealing to their history for this purpose, I may lay it down as a position not to be denied, that the Indians were in general well disposed towards the different settlers on their arrival, and that they gave sufficient proofs of this their friendly disposition towards them. Notwithstanding this, Dr. Trumbull in his History of Connecticut, one of the New England States, makes the following observation: "As these infant settlements," says he, "were filled and surrounded with numerous savages, *the people conceived themselves in danger* when they lay down and when they rose up, when they went out and when they came in. Their circumstances were such, *that it was judged necessary* for every man to be a soldier. The consequence was, that, when they began to exhibit a military appearance, several of them were way-laid and killed by the Pequots, for so the Indians were named in this

quarter. Hence followed greater warlike preparations on the one side, and greater suspicion on the other, till at length open war commenced between them, during which great excesses were committed by both parties."

Thomas Chalkley, an eminent Minister of the Gospel among the Quakers, in his visit to another part of New England in the year 1704, speaks very much to the purpose thus: "About this time the Indians were very barbarous in the destruction of the English inhabitants, scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others (men, women, and children), by which the country was greatly alarmed both night and day; but the great Lord of all was pleased wonderfully *to preserve our Friends, especially those who kept faithful to their peaceable principles*, according to the doctrine of Christ in the Holy Scriptures, as recorded in his excellent Sermon which he preached on the Mount, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew, which is quite opposite to killing, revenge, and destruction, even of our enemies."

A little further on he gives a similar account. "A neighbour," says he, "of the aforesaid people, told me that, as he was at work in his field, the Indians saw and called to him, and he went to them. They told him that they had no quarrel with the quakers, *for they were quiet, peaceable people, and hurt nobody, and that therefore none should hurt them.*— Those Indians began about this time to shoot people down as they rode along the road, and to knock

them on the head in their beds, and very barbarously murdered many; but we travelled the country and had large meetings, and the good presence of God was with us abundantly, and we had great inward joy in the Holy Ghost in our outward jeopardy and travels. *The people generally rode and went to their worship armed;* but Friends *went to their meetings without either sword or gun*, having their trust and confidence in God."

John Fothergill, another eminent Minister of the same Society, who travelled about two years afterward into the same and also into other parts of the New England States, gives a similar account. "It was then a very exercising and trying time with Friends here, by reason of the bloody incursions that the Indians then frequently made upon the English, being hired by the French about Quebec, which lies behind New England to the north-west, so that many of the English inhabitants were frequently murdered in their houses, or shot, or knocked down on the road or in the fields. Some were carried away captives; and those whom they killed they cut with their great knives round the head about the skirt of the hair, and then pulled the skin off the head; and for every such skin, which they call a scalp, they were to have a sum of money. These barbarities caused many people to leave their habitations with their families, and retire into garrisons, which the people built in many places for their greater security. Yet that, which was sorrowful to me to observe, was, that

few of them seemed to be affected with due consideration, so as to be awakened to think rightly of the cause of this heavy chastisement, and be induced to seek the Almighty's favour, as they ought. But it was a profitable, humbling time to many of our Friends, *who generally stood in the faith, and kept at their usual places of abode, though at the daily hazard of their lives:* and it was very remarkable, that *scarce any, who thus kept their habitations in the faith, were suffered to fall by the Indians, though few days passed but we heard of some of their cruel murders and destroying vengeance.* We were in these parts backwards and forwards a considerable time, having many meetings before we could be clear to leave them, which, through the merciful regard and succouring nearness of the Almighty power and presence, was satisfactory to us, and very strengthening and comfortable to Friends; *we and they being all graciously preserved, though in the open country*, and we lodged several times at *a Friend's house* at some distance from the garrison; and we had reason to believe a party of Indians was for some time about it, the marks of their feet being plainly to be seen the next morning; *but they went away without doing any damage, though it was but a mean little timber-house, and easy to break into.*"

It appears, as far as we have yet disclosed the contents of the two Journals, that the Quakers, who never used weapons of war like other people,

but lived in a defenceless state, were marked as it were for preservation by those very Indians, who were carrying death and destruction among all the other settlers promiscuously wherever an opportunity was afforded them. Three instances however occur in the Journal of Thomas Chalkley, where persons belonging to the Society were killed; but it is remarkable that, in every one of these, they suffered, *because, having out of fear abandoned their own great principle in the case before us*, they gave the Indians reason to suppose that, though they appeared to be outwardly, *yet they had ceased to be, real Quakers.* "Among the many hundreds," says Thomas Chalkley, "that were slain, I heard but of three of our Friends being killed, whose destruction was very remarkable, as I was informed. The one was a woman, and the other two were men. The men used used to go to their labour without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty and depended on his providence to protect them (*it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others or to defend themselves*): but a spirit of distrust taking place, *they took weapons of war to defend themselves;* and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them, *let them alone, saying, they were peaceable men and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them; but now seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, they therefore shot them dead.*"

With respect to the woman, the story is rather long. I will state it however concisely by observing, that she had remained in her habitation with others of her family, where both she and they had been safe; but that the massacres in the neighbourhood had been such, that she began at length to fear for her life. At this moment certain men coming from the garrison with their guns, and informing her that the Indians were near, she returned with them, and entered into it. While she was there she became uneasy. She felt that she had abandoned one of the great principles of her religion, by an association with armed people, and therefore she left the fort; but on returning home the Indians, who had seen her come out of it, and *who therefore supposed her to belong to, or to hold the same principles with, those who were then in it*, watched, way-laid, and killed her.

The above instance is likewise mentioned by Thomas Story in his Journal, who travelled in the same year to the same parts; but he adds another of a similar kind, which, as it is to the same purport, and is the only other I am acquainted with, I shall give to the reader in his own words. "And the same morning," says he, "a young man, a Friend, and tanner by trade, going from the town to his work *with a gun in his hand*, and another with him *without any*, the Indians *shot him who who had the gun, but hurt not the other:* and when they knew the young man they had killed *was a Friend, they seemed to be sorry for it*, but blamed

him for carrying a gun ; *for they knew the Quakers would not fight nor do them any harm** ; and therefore, *by carrying a gun, they took him for an enemy*."

Having now canvassed the great subject under the head 'Indians' in its different branches, as I had originally proposed, I must bring the attention of the reader back to one of them, namely, to the object which William Penn had in connecting himself with these, just to show how no good effort is ever lost, or how this object, which he had so much at heart, and which he was the first to propose, is in the way of being accomplished by his descendants. When in his own monthly Meeting at Philadelphia he procured the minute to be passed, by which a more regular intercourse was to be kept up with them, who could have thought that he then laid the foundation of the civilization of the different North American tribes? and yet such most probably will be the issue. From that time a communication between them and his own Society for this laudable purpose was incorporated as a duty into the discipline of the latter ; and this has been kept up, subject to interruption more or less on account of the wars of Europe. In process of time, that which had

* As a further confirmation of the theory I have advanced, I may observe, that we seldom hear of missionaries being killed, though thousands have gone and resided among savages ; but then they have gone thither both professionally and practically as the children of William Penn, that is, in the spirit of peace *and without arms*.

been the duty only of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia became the duty of several larger circles, or Quarterly Meetings, that is, of the Great Yearly Meeting, which comprehended the Quaker-population of a part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the eastern parts of Maryland, and after that of another Yearly Meeting, which comprehended the Society in other parts of Pennsylvania, the western shore of Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio. This increased population afforded of course increased means, and such as were more proportioned to the magnificence of the end. Hence civilization has been offered by the descendants of William Penn spread over this great extent of country to the Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots, Cherokees, Creeks, Chickesaws, Choctaws, Tuscaroras, Miamis, and other Indians, most of whom have more or less embraced it, and some of whom are on the road to an important change. Those who have been the longest under their kind instructors have made the greatest progress, and among these some have already arrived at that station, where, when they view themselves as they are, and look back upon what they were, there is but little danger of a relapse. The tribe of Senecas settled at Allegany are, I believe, in the most prominent state of improvement. From wild hunters, constantly roaming about and depending from day to day on a precarious subsistence, they have become stationary farmers, and taught to look for a more certain and permanent support from

the produce of their lands. It appears by the last Report, that the improvement among them in the three last years has been astonishing. They had erected nearly a hundred houses since that time, most of them two stories high, and well put up with hewn logs, very perpendicular at the corners, and nicely fitted together. These buildings, with very little exception, were their own work. They had opened good roads, which were remarkably well made, being superior to those among the frontier white inhabitants. They had made also an equal progress upon their farms. Their fences were generally good. Divers of them raised wheat, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, turnips, beans, squashes, pumpkins, cucumbers, and melons of various kinds. They had a number of horses and a good stock of cattle and hogs, which were of their own rearing. They mowed their ground, and made hay, and preserved straw as fodder for the winter. Many of them used the plough. They had grist and saw-mills among them. Some could weave and tan. The idea of property began to be prevalent among them. They began to be neater in their persons, and almost all of them had abandoned the use of spirituous liquors. With respect to the women, they had been exempted in a great degree from the drudgery of field-labour. Their principal employment was that of spinning, knitting, and making soap. Such is the state of the Senecas residing near the Allegany river. "The above statement," says one of the deputation, who visited them, "exhibits the progress of one

tribe towards civilization, and furnishes those interested in their welfare with great encouragement in the prosecution of a work so well calculated to increase the comforts of human life.—But we were as much encouraged (says the same person) with the Senecas, who resided on the river Cattaraugus, as with those of the Allegany, although the improvements were not so great, they being more remotely situated and of later date." Hence the reformation of one tribe will, it is to be hoped, be succeeded by the reformation of another, each in turn, as it shall have served its apprenticeship, if I may use the expression, or as it shall have fulfilled the period necessary for the knowledge required. And hence a prospect is opened to us, truly gratifying, in which we see nation after nation included, till at length Heathenism itself shall be no more: and if ever this happy day should arrive on the Northern part of the continent of America, it ought to be held in grateful remembrance by posterity, that the blessing* commenced in the virtuous politics of William Penn.

* It is melancholy to think, that the beautiful plan of civilization thus going on among so many of the Indian tribes is likely to be most seriously interrupted by the war between Great Britain and America. One of the first measures taken by the Government of Canada, after the declaration of war by the United States, was to attempt to bring over to the British standard as many of the tribes bordering on the north-western frontier of the latter as they could. Several of these joined it. The consequence was, that many of their villages were laid waste by the militia from the western States, and the whole of the corn and other

We are now to see William Penn as he conducted himself as a statesman upon Christian principles towards another class of aliens, namely, those Negroes who were brought from Africa into Pennsylvania soon after that colony began.

In the years 1681, 1682, and 1683, when he was first resident there, but very few of these had been imported. At this time, as I then observed, the traffic in slaves was not branded with infamy as at the present day. It was considered as favourable to both parties; to the Planters, because they had but few labourers in comparison with the extent of their lands; and to the poor Negroes themselves, because they were looked upon as persons redeemed out of superstition, idolatry, and heathenism, and to be treated well in order that they might embrace the Christian religion. Hence, their number being very few and their usage comparatively mild, their situation seemed to be such as not to call for legislative

subsistence which they had provided for their winter supply destroyed; so that being destitute of houses to shelter themselves, or food, many must in the course of the last winter have perished. Of the tribes on the north western frontier, only the Delawares, Shawanese, and a part of the Wyandots refused to embark in the contest. Among the southern the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickesaws, and Chocktaws remained also neuter These are all advancing rapidly towards civilization, many of them having acquired considerable property. They already manufacture a considerable part of their own clothing. In consequence of their wise determination to take no part in the war, they have not been molested; and, therefore, it is to be hoped that they will continue in an improving state.

interference. All, therefore, that he then did was generally to inculcate tenderness towards them, as to persons of the same species; and to recommend it to their masters, as they were children of the same great Father and heirs of the same promises, to consider them as branches of their own families, for whose spiritual welfare it became them to be concerned. But in the year 1700, that is, about seventeen years afterwards, when he visited America a second time, he found their numbers so much increased, that they were likely to form no inconsiderable part of the population in time. Now it was that their case began to demand his attention as a Christian Statesman. He began to question, whether under the Christian system men ought to be consigned to unconditional slavery; whether they ought to be bought and sold; whether the situation of master and slave under such terms was not pregnant both with physical and moral evil; whether the human heart would not become corrupted and hardened by the use of power; and whether, therefore, if no public care were exercised over the poor Negroes, they would not become an oppressed people. This question he determined virtuously and in unison with the Resolutions of two Yearly Meetings which had been held before in his own Province. For the honour, therefore, of his own Society as a professing people, and that the Negroes might stand still more minutely upon record on their public Journals, and this as beings whose situation entitled them to spiritual attention equally with others of a diffe-

rent complexion and colour, (considerations which he knew well would for ever secure them protection from those who belonged to it,) he resolved, as far as his own powers went, upon incorporating their treatment as a matter of Christian duty into the Discipline of the latter. He succeeded; and the result was, that a Minute was passed by the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and properly registered there, by which a Meeting was appointed more particularly for the Negroes once every month; so that, besides the common opportunities they had of collecting religious knowledge by frequenting the places of public worship, there was one day in the month, in which, as far as the influence of the Monthly Meeting extended, they could neither be temporally nor spiritually overlooked.

Having secured their treatment in a certain degree among those of his own persuasion, his next object was to secure it among others in the Colony, on whom the discipline of the Quakers had no hold, by a legislative Act. This was all he could do at present. To forbid the bringing of slaves into the Colony was entirely out of his power. He had no command whatever over the external commerce of the Mother-Country. He was bound, on the other hand, by his Charter, to admit her imports; and at this moment she particularly encouraged the Slave-trade. The power he had as Governor extended only to Laws or Regulations within his own boundaries; and these were not to be contrary to reason, or the spirit of the British Constitution. Of this

then he availed himself; for he considered Slavery as a frightful excrescence, which had insensibly grown up since the discovery of the New World, and which the latter, though it permitted, could not recognise. His first step was to introduce a Bill into the Assembly, which should protect the Negroes from personal ill-treatment, by fair trials and limited punishments; and which at the same time, by regulating their marriages, should improve their moral condition. This he did with a view of fitting them by degrees for a state of freedom; and as the Bill comprehended not only those who were then in the Province and Territories, but those who should afterwards be brought there, he hoped that it would lay the foundation, as it were, of a preparatory school for civilization and liberty to all of the African race. Here then we see him acting the part of a Christian Statesman towards another class of aliens, and these the vilest within his boundaries. That he did not carry his Bill in the Assembly is to be lamented. But his mind, his spirit, his intention, were equally shown by the effort which he made, and he is equally entitled to our praise and gratitude as if he had succeeded on the occasion.

But though unfortunately for his own feelings he failed in carrying his point where he conceived he should be most useful, the pains he had taken upon the subject were not lost. The Resolution, which he had occasioned his own Society to make, and which has been just mentioned, answered the same

end, though it took a much longer time to accomplish it: for, when he procured the insertion of it in the Monthly Meeting Book of Philadelphia, he sealed as assuredly and effectually the abolition of the Slave-Trade and the emancipation of the Negroes within his own Province, as, when he procured the insertion of the Minute relating to the Indians in the same Book, he sealed the civilization of the latter; for from the time the subject became incorporated into the Discipline of the Quakers they never lost sight of it. Several among them began to refuse to purchase Negroes at all, and others to emancipate those which they had in their possession, and this of their own accord, and purely from the motives of religion; till at length it became a Law of the Society that no Member could be concerned, either directly or indirectly, either in buying or selling or in holding them in bondage; and this Law was carried so completely into effect, that in the year 1780, dispersed as the Society was over a vast tract of country, there was not a single Negro as a slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker. This example, soon after it had been begun, was followed by others of other religious denominations. After this the American Revolution, which disseminated notions of Liberty, and which ended in Independence, aided the good cause. Since that time it has been gradually gaining ground, so that out of tens of thousands of slaves once in Pennsylvania very few comparatively remain, and these are

annually* so diminishing, that probably in ten years there will not be left a single one to pollute the territory of William Penn.

I shall not enter here, according to the plan I have pursued, into a detail of the conduct of those Statesmen, and the miserable consequences of it, who have had any concern with the Negroes on the principle of the Policy of the World. The subject is too well known, and I should only be torturing the feelings of the reader by a comparison. Posterity, I believe, will in more distant ages find it difficult to credit the enormities to which they have given birth. They will wonder how such a system could ever have been thought of, and much more how it could have so long continued. They will probably mark with barbarism the age that introduced it; nor will they probably speak of Britain herself as civilized, till the day when she abolished the Slave-Trade; or till that other day yet to come, when the word Slavery shall be erased from the book which enumerates her foreign possessions.

* From a census taken of the population of Pennsylvania at three successive periods, we are enabled to give the following account.

Population in 1790—	434,373—Slaves	3,737
	1800—602,365—do.	1,706
	1810—810,091—do.	795

From the same census we are enabled to give a similar account of that of the city of Philadelphia for the same years:

Population in 1790—	42,520—Slaves	273
	1800—64,035—do.	55
	1810—93,640—do.	2

CHAPTER XXIII.

Recapitulation of the traits in the preceding chapters of his legislative character as a Christian—has exhibited himself besides as the ruler of a kingdom without a soldier—and also without an oath—Great Treaty with the Indians never ratified by an oath and yet never broken—Indians made incursions into Pennsylvania in 1754, *but never while the Quakers ruled—causes of these incursions—peace restored by the Quakers—Father O'Leary's eulogium on the Government of William Penn—happy condition of Pennsylvania under it—conclusion.*

It has appeared, from the two preceding chapters, that William Penn exhibited a new model of Government to posterity. While he gave to the Representatives concerned in it all the power which they themselves could desire, he made the people, according to Edmund Burke, "as free as any in the world." He took away from both the means of corruption and from himself and successors the means of tyranny and oppression. It may be remembered perhaps how nobly, when he was drawing up the articles of his Constitution, he expressed himself in a letter to R. Turner on this subject. "And as my understanding and inclinations," says he, "have been much directed to observe and to reprove mischiefs in Governments, so it is now put

into my power to settle one. For the matters of Liberty and Privilege I purpose that which is extraordinary, *and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country.*"

It has appeared secondly, that he made universal Toleration the great corner-stone of his civil edifice, not fearing to put into the most important offices of State all those who believed in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world; or, in other words, not fearing any inconvenience from the collision of the minor though different tenets which they professed.

It has appeared thirdly, that he abolished the the punishment of death except in the case of wilful murder; and that he made those prisons, in which the public safety required offenders to be confined, the schools of their reformation through the medium of industry; by which he laid the foundation of the finest code of criminal law now on the whole earth.

It has appeared again, that he conducted himself towards those aliens, with whom he happened to be politically connected, as men and brethren, and therefore as persons whose temporal and spiritual interests were to be severally promoted. Hence, he protected the helpless, he instructed the ignorant, and he attempted to raise them gradually in the scale of human beings.

And it has appeared lastly, that after his Constitution had been accepted, sealed, signed, and put in force, he did not cleave to the constituent parts of it

with that obstinacy with which Statesmen defend not only the laws and edicts of their own making, but those, the dead and obsolete letters of former times; but that he was always ready to give up, upon conviction, such of them as were found less promotive than others of the public good.

But William Penn has shown, in other political departments, which I have not yet noticed, an example not less amiable in itself, and not less important to posterity. He has exhibited to the world the singular spectacle, or has shown the possibility, of a nation maintaining its own internal police amidst a mixture of persons of different nations and different civil and religious opinions, and of maintaining its foreign relations also, without the aid of a soldier or man in arms. The constable's staff was the only instrument of authority in Pennsylvania for the greater part of a century, and always while the Government was in the hands of his own descendants, the Quakers; and never was a Government, as it related to the governed, maintained with less internal disturbance, or more decorum and order; and, as it related to foreigners, with more harmony; for, though he was situated among barbarous nations, never, during his Administration or that of his proper successors, was there—*a quarrel*—or—*a war*.

He has exhibited again the singular spectacle, or shown the possibility, of a great nation managing all its concerns without the intervention of an oath. He believed that all oaths were forbidden by Jesus

Christ, and therefore he did not admit them into his civil code. He allowed only of simple affirmation; but he punished it, if false, as perjury. All affairs of the Magistracy, all affairs of the Government, were conducted without an oath; and no injury was found to accrue thereby; nor was Truth violated more in Pennsylvania than in any other quarter of the globe.

He managed his foreign concerns in like manner. The Great Treaty between himself and the Indians was made without an oath on either part. It was the only treaty, says Voltaire, that was so ratified, and that was never broken. This observation of Voltaire was minutely true as it related to the Quakers, who were considered by the Indians as his descendants; and it may be said to be true also as it related to the other inhabitants of the Province; for though hostilities commenced afterwards, and this on the part of the Indians themselves, they did not commence till the former had become the aggressors. In the year 1751 James Logan, who has been before mentioned in these Memoirs, died. He had been the Proprietor's Secretary and principal Agent. All treaties and public transactions with the Indians, and more especially on the subject of their lands, were directed by him. After his death, other persons of a different character were put into his place. Hence the Quakers were excluded from their accustomary intercourse with the latter. From this time persons were allowed more freely to trade with them,

whose principles were not sufficiently known.—Some of these made it a practice to make them drunk, and then to rob them of all they had.—Others, who settled in their neighbourhood, encroached upon their lands. The Indians complained. Their grievances were not noticed as before. A spirit of dissatisfaction sprung up in consequence among them. The French took advantage of this, and encouraged them to retaliate in another way. A war was accordingly resolved upon in the year 1754, and many of the frontier inhabitants suffered by it. About nine years afterwards a new circumstance happened, which greatly irritated the Indians, and made them still more hostile than before. Some inhabitants of Lancaster county, principally from the township of Paxtang and Donnegal, who were bigoted Presbyterians, armed themselves, and, under the impious notion of doing God service by extirpating the Heathen from the land, fell upon the remains of a Conestogo Tribe, who were peaceable persons, living far within the settled parts of the Province, and who were entirely innocent as to the war, and murdered all of them in cool blood, at two different times, both old and young, men, women, and children. The good old Chief Shehaes, who had assisted at one of the treaties with William Penn himself, and who had been a faithful friend to the English ever since, was hatcheted in his bed. After this they advanced hundreds of them armed towards Philadelphia, threatening destruction to

all who should oppose them, in order to cut to pieces a party of friendly Indians, consisting of those of Wyalusing, who, to the number of a hundred and forty, had thrown themselves upon the protection of that city. Happily they were prevented by the Philadelphians from executing their bloody design.—But they had struck such terror into the country, that no one dared to impeach the murderers, or even publicly to mention their names. "The weakness of the Government," says Robert Proud, "was not able to punish these murderers, nor to chastise the insurgents: *a sorrowful presage of an approaching change in that happy Constitution, which had so long afforded a peaceable asylum to the oppressed!*" This dreadful massacre irritated, as I said before, to a still greater degree, those Tribes which had been already offended; and what the consequences would have been, no man can say, if the Quakers had not thrown themselves into the gap as it were between the contending parties.—They formed a Society among themselves, called "the friendly Association for gaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by pacific Measures." They raised many thousand pounds within their own Society. They purchased goods for presents. They applied to the Indians for a hearing. Suffice it to say, that the latter received them as the true Friends of the great and deceased Onas; that through their mediation they renewed the Treaty with the Government of Pennsylvania near Lake

Erie; and that they withdrew themselves for ever from the French interest from that day.

Having now exhibited William Penn to the reader as a Christian Statesman in all the points of view I originally intended, I shall only add the encomium which Father O'Leary, a Catholic, in his Essay on Toleration, passed upon his Government, and a very short statement descriptive of the happiness which those who lived under it are said to have enjoyed. "William Penn, the great Legislator of the Quakers," says the author just mentioned, "had the success of a Conqueror in establishing and defending his Colony, among savage tribes, without ever drawing the sword; the goodness of the most benevolent rulers in treating his subjects as his own children; and the tenderness of an universal Father, who opened his arms to all mankind without distinction of sect or party. In his Republic it was not the religious creed, but personal merit, that entitled every member of society to the protection and emoluments of the State." With respect to the statement alluded to, it has been supposed that, during the seventy years while William Penn's principles prevailed, or the Quakers had the principal share in the Government, there was no spot on the globe where, number for number, there was so much Virtue or so much true Happiness as among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; and that during this period the latter country exhibited (setting aside the early difficulties of a new Colony) a kind of little paradise upon earth.

Hence the period from 1682 to 1754, with the same exception, has been denominated the Golden Age of Pennsylvania. Nor has this name been improperly bestowed upon it. if we examine into facts: for in a Constitution where merit only was publicly rewarded, there must have been a constant growth of Virtue, and of course of Happiness with it. In a constitution also where every man had free scope for his exertions, and the power of enjoying the fruits of his own labour, there must have been the constant opportunity of improving his temporal condition. At the latter end of the period before mentioned the Pennsylvanians exported produce to the value of half a million sterling, and they imported conveniences and comforts to the same amount. Five hundred vessels, including ships, sloops, and schooners. left the port of Philadelphia within the year. The land therefore became to them a land of plenty, flowing as it were with milk and honey. And from this delightful condition there were not the usual drawbacks as in other States; for during all this period, as I observed before, there was no war. They lived in a state of security. Their taxes were comparatively nothing. They had no internal broils.—They suffered no persecution for religion. No one sect viewed another with shyness. They differed as to the articles of their faith, but they were still friends. Proud, in speaking upon this subject, says that William Penn was far from being actuated by the extravagant notions which some others

had entertained upon Government, "in giving such an excellent example to mankind, and *showing them how happy it is possible for men to live in the world if they please;* for, while he distinguished between the too general abuse of power and the exertion of a just authority, *he laid a foundation for happy consequences, as manifested in the late glorious example and prosperity of the Province, to such a degree of both public and private felicity, as hath exceeded that of most other countries,* considering its age, situation, extent, and other circumstances, *that we know of in the world.*"—Such was the happy result of the Government of William Penn. How awful does the contemplation of it render the situation of Statesmen! Awful indeed, if, having within themselves the power of disseminating so much happiness, they have failed or neglected to dispense it! But still more awful, if by wars, persecution, or other unjust proceedings, they have been the authors of unnecessary sufferings at home, or of misery to those aliens with whom circumstances have unhappily led them to be concerned! Let bad Governors look at the contrast with which a review of their own conduct can furnish them, and tremble! Let the good, on the other hand, be encouraged. Let them consider the extraordinary opportunity which their elevated stations give them, far indeed beyond that of all others, not only of doing good to, but of being handed down to posterity among the greatest benefactors of the human race: and above all

let them consider that, by discharging their great and extensive Stewardships faithfully, they may exchange their earthly for incorruptible crowns of glory at the Resurrection of the Just.

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